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TROOPS KILL PRIEST IN HIS CHURCH

NUNNERY RANSACKED

Rev. Father Manuelpillai Mary Bastian, aged 37, parish priest of St Anne's Church in the village of Vankalai in the Sri Lankan northern Tamil town of Mannar was gunned down by a group of army men through the church window when he walked towards the door, dressed in his cassock and holding his rosary, to answer a knock on his church door at 1 am on sunday, January 6. Thereafter, the soldiers broke the door open and shot dead two boys, aged 12 and 14 years, who were in the church.

After killing the priest, the soldiers went to the nunnery in the same compound, ordered the nuns to line up outside and looted valuables including the Blessed Sacrament.

Fr. Bastian is the second priest to be killed by troops in Mannar during the last one month. On December 31, a Methodist Minister, George Jeyarajasingham, was killed along with two others and their bodies burnt.

Several people of the locality who ran towards the church on hearing gunfire, were also machine-gunned by the army and it is reported that as many as 20 were killed on the spot.

The body of the dead priest was dragged away by the army through the back door. Despite pleas from the Bishops of Mannar and Jaffna to President Jayawardene for the release of the body for a Christian burial, the authorities have not so far acceded to the requests.

Murder condemned

The cold-blooded murder of this clergyman has been roundly condemned by church dignitaries and civil rights organisations in Sri Lanka.

The Bishop of Mannar, the Right Rev. Thomas Savundaranayagam deplored the killing of the priest as a 'cruel, inhuman, and unthinkable act against a man of God'.

Cardinal Basil Hume, the Archbishop of Westminster, has sent a message of sympathy to the Bishop of Mannar, expressing his deep distress at the killing of a priest by government troops.

Efforts made by the Sri Lankan government and the state-controlled media to cover up this gruesome murder have been denounced by church leaders. The claim by the Ministry of State that the army killings followed when an army patrol was shot at while passing the church was dismissed with utter disbelief and contempt.

Protest at cover-up

The Bishop of Mannar has protested against 'the Sri Lanka Broadcasting Corporation and other means of government mass media for beaming out false news that arms and ammunition were found in the Catholic church at Vankalai and that the church was used as a base to attack the security forces.'

Bishop Savundaranayagam said innocent civilians had been killed and the security forces had also unlawfully entered a convent near the church. The Bishop said there were fears that this sort of action would increase. He appealed to President Jayawardene to ensure it would not happen again.

In another statement, Bishop Frank Marcus Fernando, President of the Roman Catholic Bishops Conference in Sri Lanka, said the media had reported the army was attacked by terrorists from the church, but his information was that the army had launched an unprovoked attack on the church and its priest.

Urging the government to hold an impartial inquiry at the highest level, Bishop Fernando said the version in the local press could prejudice the public and create unnecessary tension in the north and the south.

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Tamil TIMES

ONE FLAG, ONE ANTHEM, ONE LANGUAGE . .

At a recent meeting held in Sri Lanka, the Minister of National Security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, is reported to have said that 'the draft legislation for the resolution of the ethnic problem submitted to the APC (All-Party Conference) would be implemented only if the Tamil people gave up the Eelam demand and recognisd the National Flag, National Anthem and Sinhala as the official language.'

On our side let us tell him loud and clear: 'You have no right to dictate to the Tamil people what they should demand and what they should not.

You and your government have lost all legal, constitutional and moral right to do this, because all Sinhala-dominated governments have broken the contract that the Tamil people entered into at the time of independence. You have been responsible for innumerable breaches of faith. You have discriminated against and oppressed the Tamil people for almost four decades. You have killed and maimed thousands upon thousands of Tamils. You and your agents have burnt and destroyed tens of thousands of our homes and properties. Hundreds of our women and even schoolgirls have been violated.

Even as we write, over 10,000 Tamils are languishing in your jails and army camps and are being subjected to gruesome torture. Your marauding death squads are ravaging traditional Tamil homelands, wreaking vengeance on young and old, male and female, rich and poor.

Your troops have shelled Tamil villages and virtually obliterated them. You have put to the torch our markets, shops, schools, and libraries. In short, you are engaged in mass-scale genocide of the Tamil people.

We have told this before and will tell it again and again. The Tamil people no longer owe any allegiance to the Sri Lanka Sinhala-dominated government. The situation under this government has developed to such a pass that you have ceased to have any authority or right to demand our allegiance to your State, its Flag, its Anthem, its Constitution and laws including the Sinhala Only Official Language Act.

The fact is that your government have violated every canon of the Rule of Law in its dealing with the Tamil people.

Now that the Minister has laid down his pre-conditions for the resolution of the ethnic problem, let us put down our terms which we believe the Tamil people everywhere will readily support. Restore citizenship and voting rights to the plantation Tamils; freeze state-aided colonisation of the northern and eastern provinces with Sinhala people brought from other areas; put an end to the discrimination against us on grounds of language, religion or ethnic origin in regard to employment and education; repeal the Sinhala Only Official Language Act and make Tamil also an official language throughout the island; withdraw the armed forces from the north and east and repeal the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution. In short, every citizen of Sri Lanka should be entitled to equal rights irrespective of his ethnic origin, language or religion. Then one can think of one country with two nationalities without oppressing each other.

If these terms are met, then the Tamil people may be persuaded to abandon the demand for a separate state. This will happen not because the Minister has demanded it, but in the exercise of their inalienable right of self-determination.

IT'S BARBARISM, NOT BUDDHISM

The spectacle of Sri Lankan politicians dragging the noble teachings of the Great Buddha so often to explain and justify the sheer barbarism that is being enacted in Sri Lanka is truly revolting and disgusting.

Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, on his appointment as Minister of National Security, made a beeline to Dalada Maligawa, the sacred Buddhist temple at Kandy, to invoke Lord Buddha's blessings to perform his tasks. Within the few months of his appointment, he has presided over some of the worst crimes against humanity — over 1,300 Tamil civilians killed, their women raped, their properties looted and burnt and many other forms of atrocities, all committed against the Tamil people by the troops under his control.

Despite this atrocious record, this hypocritical counterfeit Buddhist Minister recently addressed a crowd attending a Buddhist 'pinkama' held 'to invoke the blessings on the police and security forces defending the nation', saying:

> *'As Buddhists we will try our best to resolve this problem through negotiation . . . Buddhist history reveals that problems of this nature were tackled with understanding and tact.'*

Under the pretext of fighting 'terrorism', the Minister has caused the incarceration of over 15,000 Tamils, including young women, all of whom are being subjected to the most inhuman forms of torture. His troops continue to kill innocent Tamil civilians and destroy their property. The recent brutal killing of Catholic priest Reverend Manuelpillai Bastain in his own church is typical of the murderous activities of the Minister's death squads on whose behalf

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AN INGLORIOUS END

The collapse of the All Party Conference (APC) initiated in the aftermath of the July 1983 island-wide anti-Tamil violence, in which an estimated 2,000 Tamils perished and several thousand homes and businesses were put to the torch, and convened in January 1984, has signalled the end to the attempt to arrive at a peaceful solution to the Sinhala-Tamil ethnic problem in violence-torn Sri Lanka, once described as a paradise isle.

President Junius Jayawardene brought the curtain down on the long-running drama of the APC on December 16 when he told the depleted delegations assembled, that their task had now come to an end. Despite the fact that no group had expressed agreement, the President announced that there was a 'consensus' in support of the two draft proposals placed before the conference. One proposal envisaged 4,500 organisations (Gramodaya Mandalayas) at village level, 250 elected bodies running higher level local government (Pradeshiya Sabhas) and a third tier of 25 District Councils to cover the whole island.

The second proposal was for a 75-member second chamber of Parliament called the Council of State, which was to be more in the nature of an advisory body while also having the power to initiate legislation and communicate its views on bills affecting fundamental rights, language rights, regional matters and other issues affecting national unity and integrity. Hardly any group, political or otherwise, including powerful sections of the President's ruling party, endorsed these proposals. However, he hoped that 'all the hard work and deliberations they had put in would help bring at least some peace, unity and stability in the country' — and wound up the conference, promising to place the proposals before the people and that 'in the final analysis the government will have to make a decision and introduce necessary legislation in Parliament.'

What followed revealed once again the stranglehold the reactionary forces representing the ideology of Sinhala-Buddhist hegemony have on the political processes of the country. So long as the two main Sinhala political parties were in their grip, no negotiated political solution involving the grant of the legitimate national rights of the Tamil people was possible.

Mounting opposition

The Supreme Council of the Buddhist clergy rejected the proposals and 'the yellow-robed bandwagon was threatening to roll against the government in an island-wide campaign. Jayawardene's Cabinet Minister and the so-called champion of the Sinhala-Buddhist cause, Mr Cyril Mathew, broke ranks and addressed a nine-page communication to MPs, Ministers, Buddhist monks and his 'Sinhala friends', expressing his fear that the draft proposals 'very nearly grants them (Tamils) the Eelam that they desire'.

When the former Prime Minister, Mrs Sirima Bandaranaike's Sri Lanka Freedom Party, with cynical opportunism, joined the campaign of the mounting opposition, the fate of the President's proposals was sealed.

In the face of this growing campaign, sections within the ruling party itself began to sing a different tune. The Minister of National Security, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali, who said on December 16 that the 'APC had helped to create a better understanding of the problem and the emergence of a basis for an ultimate solution', did an about-turn and told a public meeting on December 19 that the draft legislation submitted to the APC would be implemented only if the people of the north gave up the Eelam demand and recognised the National Flag, Anthem and Sinhala as the official language.

Prime Minister Mr R. Premadasa,

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he was invoking Buddhist blessings!

The Minister's claim that as Buddhists they would try to resolve the problem peacefully, with tact and understanding is belied by the most draconian and inhuman measures imposed on the Tamil people. It is difficult, almost impossible, to find today a single other country in the world where such measures are in operation.

What is Buddhistic about forcibly evacuating 200,000 Tamils living along the north-east, northern and north-western coastal belt by the imposition of a so-called prohibited zone? Is it Buddhistic to render them homeless refugees overnight, forcing them to live in temples, churches and under trees? It is hardly an act of Buddhist compassion to deprive over 50,000 poor Tamil fishermen of their livelihood by denying them the right to go to sea. It is certainly not Buddhism to permit troops to loot Tamil homes and rape Tamil women and then engage in ministerial cover-ups of these crimes. It cannot be Buddhist kindness to prevent Tamils from cultivating their crops, opening their shops and running their factories by means of extended curfews. It certainly is not Buddhist tolerance to deprive Tamils of car and bus transport thus compelling mothers to give birth in their homes or in bullock-carts on their way to hospital resulting in many deaths of mothers and the new born.

Attacking the sick, the old and the infirm by denying the hospitals in Tamil areas of urgently needed medical supplies including oxygen, anaesthetics and other life-saving drugs can hardly be said to reflect Buddhist compassion.

The Buddha was too noble to expect shrines and statues to be erected in his name in places from where poor Muslim peasants are ejected (as in Pottuvil in the eastern province) from their homes and land and replaced by so-called Buddhist Sinhalese.

All these and many more countless acts in which the government, the Minister and his minions are engaged in, are not in pursuance of the teachings of the great Buddha. These counterfeit Buddhists are engaged in downright crimes of barbarism against innocent, uninvolved, defenceless Tamil civilians, including the sick, the old, the infirm, women and children.

'Let All Beings Be Well And Happy' is the basic precept of Buddhism. However the counterfeit Buddhist politicians and prelates of Sri Lanka would appear to have altered this tenet in accordance with their chauvinist ideology. 'Let all beings, except Tamils, be well and happy', would seem to be their guiding philosophy.

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BRITISH LIBERALS EXPRESS CONCERN

Zerbanoo Gifford, the first Asian woman to be appointed to the National Executive Committee of any party spoke at the Liberal Party Council at Grantham recently.

She recommended a motion which called for lasting action on the plight of the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka.

'The motion,' she said, 'showed true concern for the rights of the Tamils subjugated to violence and injustice by their own government.'

She called on the British government to exert pressure on President Jayawardene and let him know that such injustices 'would not be tolerated by the British people'.

Mrs Gifford told Tamil Times that when she was in Sri Lanka last year she saw the fear in which Tamils lived.

She said: 'It is the duty of this government to make clear to the Sri Lankan government that there is no excuse for wanton acts of politically motivated violence.'

IN THE SHADOW OF MURDER, ARSON AND LOOTING — WOMEN RAPED AT GUNPOINT

'A sobbing young woman, eight months pregnant, whose husband is working overseas, told me she was raped by a soldier at gunpoint the night before while other troops burned her mother's home,' stated David Graves, of the London 'Daily Telegraph, reporting from Jaffna.

David Graves was the first foreign reporter allowed into the Tamil areas after the government launched the latest offensive against the Tamils in late November '84. For weeks foreign reporters were banned from the Tamil areas and they were fed with only government hand-outs.

Referring to the APC talks held on December 14, David Graves in his dispatch which appeared in the 'Daily Telegraph' of December 17, states: **'The only talk on the front line in Jaffna was death and fear'** where the **'Sri Lankan armed forces had unleashed a bloody campaign . . .'** and where they **'are committing the most grotesque crimes away from international notice.'**

David Graves added:

Jaffna may be only 300 miles north of Colombo, but it is a world apart.

It is under siege. The 800,000 inhabitants of the peninsula live in the shadow of murder, arson, bombings and looting.

In Colombo, the Government and the state-owned media say these are carried out by Tamil terrorists. Everyone in Jaffna says they are committed by troops.

Appalling stories

As the first foreign journalist to reach Jaffna since the start of the rebel offensive last month, I have spent three days listening to a series of appalling stories of rape, massacre and intimidation.

I saw two bodies lying in the fields at Vadducoddai, eight miles west of Jaffna, where Dr Neelan Tiruchelvan, a former MP for the area, claimed troops shot dead 40 civilians last week.

The people are in fear for their lives. On Saturday an army patrol stopped in the centre of Jaffna town, and immediately dozens of men, women and children ran away. They say there have been so many cases of troops opening fire indiscriminately.

A few hours later at 8.15, a bomb exploded in Stanley Road, near my hotel. Yesterday morning, as the dusk-to-dawn curfew was lifted, people told me the bomb was set off by the army to frighten out residents so that they could be shot as curfew breakers.

The soldiers are from the south, are Buddhists, and speak Sinhalese. The Tamils are Hindus, speak Tamil, and regard themselves as a minority discriminated against since Sri Lanka won independence from Britain in 1948.

In fairness, I must say that the

VICTIMS OF ARMY MASSACRE IN MANNAR ON 4.12.84

	Name	Age
1.	K.T. Rajendram	67
2.	Mrs Sellammah Murugan	60
3.	M. Navaratnam	54
4.	K. Atchuthan	34
5.	Ramalingam Letchumanan	50
6.	R. Kandasamy	50
7.	Ponnaiah Alagaiah	65
8.	Alagaiah Kalimuthu	31
9.	Ponnampalam	50
10.	Karuppaiah Perumal	52
11.	Tharmaratanam	45
12.	S. Rengaiah	55
13.	Suppaiah	75
14.	A. Thirunavukarasu	55
15.	S. Subramaniam	65
16.	Mathias Miyasus	55
17.	Mrs A. John Baptist	26
18.	Poosary Kandasamy	47
19.	K. Appathurai	63
20.	M. Jeyakumar	32
21.	M. Alles	52
22.	Theogu Isidore	
23.	Marimuthu Sella	19
24.	Rajagopal Rajaratnam	16
25.	S. Sebastiampillai	42
26.	Nallu	30
27.	R. Subramaniam	56
28.	Anthonyan	45
29.	Sinnaiah Rasiah	22
30.	A. Kalimuthu	60
31.	Saverian Santhiogu	34
32.	Santhogu Fernando	32
33.	S. Ramiah	50
34.	Ms R.A. Baby Nona	75
35.	Mrs Hemawathie Banda	45
36.	Sellaiah Shanmuganathan	43
37.	A.S. Fernando	48
38.	N. Subramaniam	
39.	Antony Yoganathan	18
40.	V. Thiagarajah	18
41.	S. Arasaratnam	45
42.	J. Sebastiampillai	22
43.	Soosai Antony	52
44.	Soosai Nocholas	36
45.	Emmanuel Soosaiappu	35
46.	A. Francis Moraes	28
47.	Gabriel Jeevanandan	40
48.	J. Croos Thasan	25
49.	Arumugam Sundararajah	45
50.	K. Paneerselvam	27
51.	S. Alphonsus Croos	35
52.	Appathurai Veerasingam	40
53.	Kapulal Hameed	
54.	Haniffa M. Sulthan	
55.	K.D. Jeyasena (William)	60
56.	Alexander Martin Rajakumar	32
57.	Velupillai Kanapathipillai	
58.	A.T. Noel Emmanuel	
59.	Kassim Sammedu	
60.	S.K. Arumugam	
61.	Philip Pulendran	
62.	Ramasamy	45
63.	Saveeri Kadukka	60
64.	Yoganathan (Sothi)	18
65.	Majeed	
66.	Ms Sebamalai Mary Rani	28
67.	Sellaiah	
68.	Ragunathan	
69.	Soosai Anthonimuthu	52
70.	Seeman Santhiapillai	45
71.	Seeman Santhiapillai	
72.	Borgia	28
73.	Kanthan Thamby	20
74.	Subramaniam Ramiah	55
75.	S. Kathiravelu	55
76.	Saveerian Selvam	57

14 bodies could not be identified. Approximately 17 bodies were buried by relatives.

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THE MANNAR MASSACRE

MINISTER'S MASS MURDER COVER-UP EXPOSED

'Thirty-two terrorists were killed when the army opened fire after it had been subjected to a landmine attack at the 12th milepost on the Mannar-Murunkan road,' said National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali in a press statement explaining the killing by the army of several Tamils in the northern Tamil town of Mannar, Sri Lanka, on December 4.

This cover-up attempt by the Sri Lankan Minister has now been exposed by the Mannar Citizens Committee headed by the Roman Catholic Bishop. In a memorandum addressed to the Sri Lankan President, Junius Jayawardene, seeking his 'careful and personal attention to ensure that justice is done', the Citizens' Committee have called upon him to 'take due action against those responsible for the acts of savagery and brutality on innocent people'.

Reproduced on this page is the full text of the memorandum addressed to the President following two emergency meetings of the Mannar Citizens Committee held on December 7 and 9, 1984 at which the following were present:

His Lordship the Bishop of Mannar, Rev. Fr. Xavier Croos, Vicar General, Mannar Diocese and Vice-President, Mannar District Citizens Committee; Rev. Bro. Hillary Joseph F.S.C., Vice-President, Mannar District Citizens Committee, Retired Principal, Director, De La Salle House; Mr John Thasan, Attorney, Joint Secretary, Mannar District Citizens Committee; Mr K. Akbar, Secretary to District Minister of Mannar, Member of the Waqf Board, Colombo; Mr S.H.M. Rasheed, JP, Chief Trustee, Grand Bazzar Jumma Mosque, Joint Secretary, People's Committee, President Mannar Traders Association; Mr J.L. Selvarajah, Retired ASP; Mr S. Christopher, President Mannar Lions' Club, Proprietor, St Antony's Stores, Mannar; Mr K. Kunaratnam, Retired ACCD; Mr K.V. Muthaliyar, Manager Hatton National Bank; Mr N.M. Iqbal, In-service Adviser, Department of Education; Mr H.M. Nizam, JP, Chairman, Mannar Town East Gramodaya Mandalaya; Mr S.S. Thajudeen, Proprietor, Messrs C.S. Sulaiman & Sons; Mr K. Panchalingam, Government Contractor.

Your Excellency will remember that it was only on the 12th of August this year that the burning down of the Mannar Bazaar and the killing of personnel made a terrific impact not only on the country, but also on the world, causing serious damage to the image of the country, something we too least desire. It is therefore unthinkable that even before the people of the district could forget the shocking incidents of August 12th, army personnel should so callously commit the following savage acts of brutality described in detail below on the poor defenceless citizens of this district. The incidents we describe have been checked and rechecked and are not mere hearsay.

At about 11a.m. on the 4th of December 1984 an army vehicle was reported to have been blown up by a landmine somewhere near the Jubilee Road Junction on the Mannar–Madawachchiya road. One soldier lost his life and six were injured. Following this incident the army unleashed a wave of savagery detailed below on innocent citizens inhabiting a seven-mile stretch of road. Your Excellency would surely understand the sheer ferocious brutality of these acts on the part of those whom we depend on to defend us peace-loving citizens:

a) Army personnel marched into the Murunkan Post Office, lined up the officers working there against the wall and opened fire on them killing four of them on the spot, leaving for dead the other six, including the Post Master who survived with serious injuries.

b) Thereafter for a horrendous five hours or more, army personnel attacked with machinegun fire innocent people living on the roadside on a stretch of road for a distance of about seven miles from the place of the incident. Innocent people who have nothing at all to do with the incident concerning the army vehicle were mercilessly mown down by machinegun fire.

c) A CTB bus going from Mannar to Vavuniya was stopped by army personnel and all the persons aboard were ordered to alight. The Sinhala conductor, Kuda Devage Jeyasena, whose bravery we record with gratefulness, told the army men that he was a Sinhalese and was responsible for the safety of the passengers and added that he would have to be killed if the passengers were to be harmed. The soldiers promptly obliged by shooting him dead first and after lining up the male passengers including the Muslim driver of the bus, shot seventeen of them dead.

d) Another CTB bus coming from Vavuniya to Mannar was similarly treated and about twenty persons shot dead, the other passengers sustained severe injuries.

e) The village of Parappankandal which is away from the main road was attacked by helicopters. With the umbrella cover provided by the helicopters, an army jeep went into the village and opened fire on innocent civilians. The death toll here was twelve, including women, one of whom was a young lady nursing an infant at her breast. The infant escaped with three toes blown off while the mother died. We begin to wonder whether such inhuman savagery is possible in this Dharma Divipaya.

f) In the village of Uthavayankulam, 16 people were killed including two Sinhalese ladies, R.A. Baby Nona aged 75 years and Hemawathie Banda aged forty-five.

g) Apart from the abovementioned acts of savagery, houses, mills, shop premises, a private nursing home, tractors, and lorries were indiscriminately burned. Wanton killing, burning and looting were freely indulged in by frenzied army personnel.

Ninety bodies of the unfortunate victims of the army massacre were brought to the Mannar and Murunkan Hospitals for post-mortem examination and identification. We also understand that several more bodies, in slush and mud, highly decomposed were buried on the spot by villagers as there was no transport available and the state of the bodies will not permit of transport.

We are, to say the least, Your Excellency, most surprised at the denials over the radio and TV of these blatant acts of army savagery.

The people of this district are living in fear and trepidation, ready at any moment to leave home and hearth and run for their very lives. Almost the entire population goes into places of worship to spend sleepless nights. Such is the psychological impact that no house is lit at nights for fear of attack by the army. We wish to emphasise that these statements are true facts and not conjectures or wild guesses.

We attach for Your Excellency's personal perusal a carefully verified statement of the identified dead. (The statement was disallowed by the censor.) It will be noted that almost all

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FROM PAGE 3

who was not prepared to be upstaged by the Minister of National Security in the succession stakes, raised a series of questions at the annual sessions of the ruling United National Party throwing serious doubt on the draft proposals. He asked:

- Will these proposals which are now before us, safeguard the unity and integrity of our country?
- Will the sovereignty of our country be further stabilised?
- Will the unity, peace and discipline in our country be protected or else will it change the present set-up?
- Will there be a threat to the unitary character of Sri Lanka?
- Will it be a hindrance to the unity of our people?
- Will these proposals destabilise and disrupt justice and fair play to the different ethnic groups who have made this country their motherland?

What was significant, if not sinister, was that the Prime Minister did not proceed to answer his questions.

The Tamil United Liberation Front also rejected the proposals stating that the 'two bills before the Conference do not embody the scheme of autonomy which could be accepted by the Tamil people or their accredited representatives, the TULF'.

Government abandons proposals

Not unexpectedly the President and his government eventually announced the dropping of the proposals following a Cabinet meeting held on December 26.

The fact that the TULF did not accept the proposals would not have weighed heavily on the government's decision to abandon its own proposals. What became decisive was the rejection and the mounting campaign by the Buddhist clergy, the extremist Sinhala sections of the Cyril Mathew variety and most of all by the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. Of President Jayawardene's plight, Mervyn De Silva and Venkatramani wrote in 'India Today' (January 15, 1985): 'His dilemma now provides ironic amusement to those who see it as some kind of "retributive justice". In 1958, when the then Prime Minister, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, almost conceded Tamil regional autonomy in the famous Bandaranaike–Chelvanayakam pact, it was Jayawardene who managed to force its abrogation by organising a march of Buddhists.'

What emerged clearly from this whole exercise of the APC, lasting almost a year, was the vacillation and indecisiveness of the President and his government on the one hand and on the other the refusal of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party and the Buddhist clergy to join in an effort to find a negotiated just settlement acceptable even to moderate Tamil opinion. If there was any party that could not be accused of wrecking the Conference, that credit should go to the TULF which attended the APC from the beginning to the end in spite of the tremendous pressure from within and outside its ranks to withdraw once the Annexure C proposals initially agreed to by the President were later unilaterally jettisoned by the President.

Inglorious end

The most crucial factor which brought the APC to an inglorious end was the government's failure to create a climate in the country in which a negotiated solution could have been arrived at. The government's extravagant and massive offensive against the Tamil people in general, putting thousands of them in detention in army camps and permitting its troops to commit unprecedented acts of arson, murder and other forms of atrocities accompanied by giving wide publicity in the state-controlled media to wildly exaggerated accounts of 'terrorist' attacks, a government initiated campaign of a 'National Defence Fund', an appeal to the Sinhala people to volunteer to fight the Tamils from dividing the country, and a loathsome and well-orchestrated campaign to whip up anti-Tamil hysteria and a war psychosis based on an imaginary 'invasion' by Tamil militants from South India, is hardly the action of a government which wanted to produce a political and social climate of respect for the rights of the Tamil people in the country. On this basis a solution could have been found.

Every action and speech by the government's leaders from the President downwards was consciously calculated to undermine that necessary climate and incite the Sinhala people against the Tamils.

FROM PAGE 1

Active and popular

The murdered clergyman had his early education at St Patrick's College, Jaffna, and his theological training at St Paul's Seminary in Trichy in South India and the National Seminary at Ampitiya, Kandy, in central Sri Lanka.

He was an active and popular religious leader who had dedicated himself to work for the poor. He worked hard among the Tamil refugees who had fled from the plantations following the violent racial attacks in August 1981.

The priest must have become a marked man because of the committed efforts he made to help those poor people who had become victims of a series of recent reprisals by the security forces in the Mannar district. He was also the Youth Chaplain of the Mannar Diocese.

From all accounts, it would seem that the killing was a pre-planned operation.

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

those who have been killed are over 50 years of age. We do not doubt Your Excellency's ability to draw your own conclusion on this most savage episode in the history of the army in Mannar.

In the name of the 'Dharmishta Society' which Your Excellency is so determined to establish and in which we are certain Your Excellency's government firmly believes, we request Your Excellency to order an inquiry into these tragic events, take due action against those responsible for acts of savagery and brutality on innocent people and take all necessary action to restore peace and calm to this district noted for its peace and tranquility and enable the people to resume the even tenor of their lives — 'Fiat justitia ruinat caelum'.

We also request Your Excellency to see that adequate compensation is paid to families who have been cruelly deprived of their bread-winners and to those who have been injured and also to those who have lost their houses, vehicles, and other valuable property. We further request Your Excellency that your authority as Head of State will be available to our people with due assurance that incidents of this nature will never be repeated.

MUSLIMS PROTEST AGAINST 'PLANNED ENCROACHMENTS'

Planned encroachments by Sinhalese on lands belonging to the Muslim people are at the rate of five families a week and for every 25 houses a Buddhist shrine has been built', the Sri Lanka Muslim Council has stated in a memorandum to the Sri Lankan President, Junius Jayawardene.

Dr Al Haj Badi-Udin Mohamed, on behalf of the Sri Lanka Muslim Council, has voiced strong objections against 'planned and co-ordinated encroachments on Muslim lands in the Pottuvil area in the Eastern province of Sri Lanka'.

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SRI LANKA ARMY'S REIGN OF TERROR HOLDS TAMILS IN THRALL

From Trevor Fishlock, Jaffna

Sri Lankan forces are conducting a harsh and remorseless campaign of intimidation among the island's Tamil minority. By means of random murder, indiscriminate shooting, beatings, torture and plunder, ill-disciplined and trigger-happy soldiers keep the Tamils in the north in a state of constant fear.

With the vanishing of reason, the fight against Tamil separatist terrorists now has the shrill tones of naked ethnic struggle. The predominantly Sinhalese Army seems to have a free hand as it cracks down on the civilian population in the overwhelmingly Tamil Northern Province.

Military restrictions, and the army's savage response to Tamil terrorism, have almost shut down the economy of this region. At least 25,000 fishermen are prohibited from fishing, the sea having been declared out of bounds, and there is growing anxiety in fishing communities, and among civic leaders, that unless food is brought into areas already chronically short of supplies, people will begin to starve.

Women have been selling their necklaces and bangles to buy food, but few dealers now have any money left to buy their jewellery, even at low prices.

Many thousands of people, mostly women and children have fled to India and to Europe. Thousands of youths have been rounded up and held in army camps. Their parents do not know where they are: they have become Sri Lanka's disappeared ones. There is strong evidence of beating, torture and murder of young men in army custody.

'Women have been selling their necklaces and bangles to buy food . . People are dying because they cannot be taken to hospital in the 6pm to 5am curfew. Jaffna Hospital is running out of vital drugs, oxygen and anaesthetics.'

Rigid curfew and a plethora of complex regulations and permits have reduced transport to overworked skeleton services. People find it hard to get to work and to transport food and raw materials. The army has its grip on the jugular of commerce. Factories are closing; trade in most shops has dwindled. It is becoming impossible to freight goods to and from Colombo by road.

People are dying because they cannot be taken to hospital in the 6pm to 5am curfew. Jaffna Hospital is running out of vital drugs, oxygen and anaesthetics.

Meanwhile, thousands of displaced people, driven from their homes in army 'combing out' operations, are in refugee camps.

There is no longer any proper law enforcement. There are no policemen to be seen on the streets of Jaffna, chief city of the north. They stay in their sandbagged police posts. Troops move only in large armoured convoys. The army's rampages, massacres and brutality have swung even moderate Tamil opinion against the authorities. The army and police are despised.

Father Michael Samy, Vicar-General of Jaffna, said: 'This is a reign of terror.'

The Bishop of Jaffna said: 'People live in fright and despair. They feel helpless. There is no equality or democracy left here any more. Tamils are being treated as second class citizens.'

A young clerk, typical of a number of people interviewed, said: 'Everyone here is afraid. You know that the army has killed people for no reason and has shot them down on the streets. Those who can afford it are getting out of Sri Lanka. If I had the money I would go, too. Those who will be left will be the old, the poor and the very young.'

The North is now in a state of chaos and high nervous tension. The civil power's hold on the situation is not strong. Hundreds of guerrillas, estimates range from 1,000 to 5,000 or more, are committed to fighting for *Eelam*, a separate Tamil state in the north and east.

The army hits back with massive round-ups and interrogation of youths. Troops have been looting and burning houses. Many women have complained of being robbed of jewellery. A civil servant said: 'To the army every Tamil is now a terrorist.'

It is part of the Sri Lankan tragedy that the Government has come to define the long smouldering Tamil question as simply one of terrorist eradication. Sinhalese antipathy to Tamils, rooted in ancient fears of conquest, has been stirred up.

The Government's case is that it is acting firmly against a terrorist threat to the country's integrity.

But the Tamils, who form a fifth of the 15 million population, believe that the army is being used to subjugate them to settle historic scores.

(By kind courtesy of THE TIMES, 31.12.84)

'By means of random murder, indiscriminate shooting, beatings, torture and plunder, ill-disciplined and trigger-happy soldiers keep the Tamils in the north in a state of constant fear . . . Troops have been looting and burning houses.'

APPEAL FOR NEUTRAL OBSERVERS TO PREVENT MASSACRE OF TAMILS

The Human Rights Council of the Standing Committee of Tamils has appealed for neutral observers to be sent to Sri Lanka to prevent the atrocities which are being committed on the Tamils of Sri Lanka by the government and its troops.

The London-based HRC recently sent telegrams to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Prime Ministers of Great Britain and India. The following is the text of the telegram:

"The stark headlines in British press — 'Troops tackling rebels in divided Sri Lanka terrorise Tamils' (Daily Telegraph, 17.12.84), 'Sri Lankan army's reign of terror holds Tamils in thrall' (The Times, 31.12.84) and 'Fishing ban raises spectre of starvation for Tamils' (The Times, 2.1.85) reflect only to a small extent the state of constant fear and despair in which the Tamils in the Northern Province are now living.

"Hundreds have been killed during indiscriminate shooting by troops. Thousands have been arrested and their whereabouts are not known. Army reprisals include arson, raping, looting and random firing at crowds in markets, farmers in rice fields, school-going children, busloads of passengers, etc.

"25,000 fishermen expelled from the coastal 'surveillance zone' are now starving refugees, but the government has not provided them any relief. The ban on fishing has also deprived the population of a major source of protein for the past one month. Other food supplies and raw materials are scarce as special permits are required to enter and leave the northern region. The threat of starvation is very real. The daily 12-hour curfew and ban on all private transport including bicycles, are causing many deaths as seriously ill patients cannot get to a hospital in time. Doctors have not been issued with curfew passes and ambu-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

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OVER 10,000 ARRESTED & SHIPPED

Security personnel swooped down on several areas in north Sri Lanka, carrying out searches and arrests, especially of youth.

On Monday, December 17, army personnel surrounded the Thirunelvely area and carried out a meticulous search, arresting several youths.

Residents of Thirunelvely area, which was combed out on Monday, complained of looting and rape of a young, pregnant woman.

On Tuesday December 18, the security forces laid siege to Kaladdy, near Thirunelvely, and arrested several youths.

Wednesday December 19, turned out to be a BLACK DAY for Jaffna town. Armed personnel blocked all the entry and exit points of the town round about 8 am, catching almost everyone by surprise. They even checked the wards in the Jaffna General Hospital, the nurses' quarters, shops and other institutions in the Grand Bazaar area. According to eye-witness reports, more than 1,000 youths were taken away for questioning in a convoy of nearly 40 vehicles which had converged on the area from the Gurunagar Camp.

Forced to stand

Till the detainees were taken away in the buses and vehicles commandeered by the armed forces, they were forced to stand or squat in the stinking drains skirting the Jaffna Hospital, under the burning sun.

A shop-keeper in the town area told the media that during Wednesday's search he lost Rs.1,000/- which he had entrusted to an employee for the purchase of cigarettes, which are in short supply in Jaffna at the moment. Asked whether he would complain to the Army High Command about the highway robbery, he said, 'No thank you. I don't want to be harassed.'

Earlier, the armed forces raided Chulipuram, Mathagal, Sillalai, Pandaitheruppu and Thenmaradchy areas arresting hundreds of youth.

In Chulipuram, some parents have alleged that their young daughters were raped in the course of the search.

Informed sources say that these escalating searches and arrests of males especially between 12–32 years of age, are not merely of a pattern of terrorisation, but also of 'hostage-taking'.

These sources go on to say that between 10,000 and 15,000 hostages, especially youths, are to be taken into custody to ensure the safety of the Sri Lankan armed forces.

The Mothers' Movement of Jaffna is planning once again to demonstrate in protest at these indiscriminate arrests of innocent youngsters, the rapes committed by uniformed personnel under the guise of searches and to demand the withdrawal of the recent emergency measures which have converted the North into a 'prison'.

Here are some of the statistics of those arrested in various areas in the Jaffna peninsula: Anaicottai 100, Sillalai — 100, Chulipuram — 400, Kaithady — 300; Jaffna Town — 1,200; Alaveddy, Siruvilan and Elavalai — 60, Thirunelvely-Kalviyankadu — 80 (These are approximate figures).

Some of the arrested youths have been released but most have been transported or shipped down South.

SAS, MOSSAD AND NOW GURKHA MERCENARIES

It is common knowledge that the Sri Lankan government has employed the services of ex-SAS mercenaries and the Israeli Mossad to assist its security services.

Now according to reliable sources the government have decided to hire Gurkha mercenaries from Hong Kong to assist the security services, particularly to guard vital installations.

APPEAL TO UN TO STOP ARMY ATROCITIES

The Jaffna Citizens Committee (JCC) has appealed to the United Nations and the International Red Cross to prevent further atrocities by the Sri Lankan troops.

The appeal followed the unprecedented violence and indiscriminate killing and mass arrests of Tamil civilians by soldiers during the last five weeks.

Mr R. Balasubramaniam, Secretary of the non-political Jaffna Citizens Committee said: 'We must be protected to prevent further massacres by troops. The government is supposed to protect the people, yet the Army is killing us. We need impartial observers to tell the world what is happening.'

NOW GOLD JEWELLERY, NO LONGER JAFFNA MANGOES

Not long ago, when a Sinhalese, be he a visitor, businessman or a government official, came to Jaffna, he would have been treated to Jaffna mangoes, very fondly called in Sinhala 'Yapana Amba'. The Sinhala people appeared to have an insatiable appetite for these delicious fruits. They would return to the South with boxes of mangoes for distribution amongst their anxiously waiting kith and kin. The relationship that the sweet Jaffna mangoes created between the Sinhalese and Tamils gave rise to the Sinhala expression 'Ambe Yaluwa' which when translated meant 'Mango friend' to denote an intimate and sweet relationship between two people.

However, with the massive intrusion of Sinhala troops into Tamil areas it would appear that the Jaffna mango has lost its traditional demand in the South. Not that the Sinhala people have developed a distaste for these mangoes. But now it would appear that the Sinhala troops have begun to return with much more valuable and attactive gifts for their kith and kin — gold jewellery, hi-fi sets, wrist-watches, etc. Not that the traditionally tight-fisted Jaffna Tamil has become suddenly so generous as to afford such expensive gifts to the Sinhala troops. The Tamil man or woman has no longer any choice in the matter.

In the 'holy war' to save Buddhism and the Sinhala race, the Sinhala troops enter Tamil homes and among other 'heroic deeds' relieve the inmates of all their valuables including gold bangles, chains, rings, wrist-watches, etc. If a Tamil woman wore a 'pottu' (a red dot on the centre of the forehead), it was presumed that she was married and therefore in possession of a 'Thalikkody' (the traditional matrimonial chain weighing several ounces of gold). If such a woman denies having a 'Thalikkody', the troops engaged in this 'holy war' would not take no for an answer. The woman concerned would be subjected to physical violence, stripping her naked or other forms of cruel and degrading treatment until the much desired 'Thalikkody' was produced.

Small wonder some Sinhala women who happen to be relatives of returning troops from the northern battle-front of this 'holy war' are sporting gold jewellery which they never had before. Some of them are said to be even wearing the 'Thalikkody' although it is not customary for Sinhala women to wear it.

Jaffna mangoes may be sweet, but gold appears to be sweeter. The mangoes may have produced drops and drops of sweet nectar, but to deprive a Tamil woman of her 'Thalikkody' produces tears which she would shed until her death.

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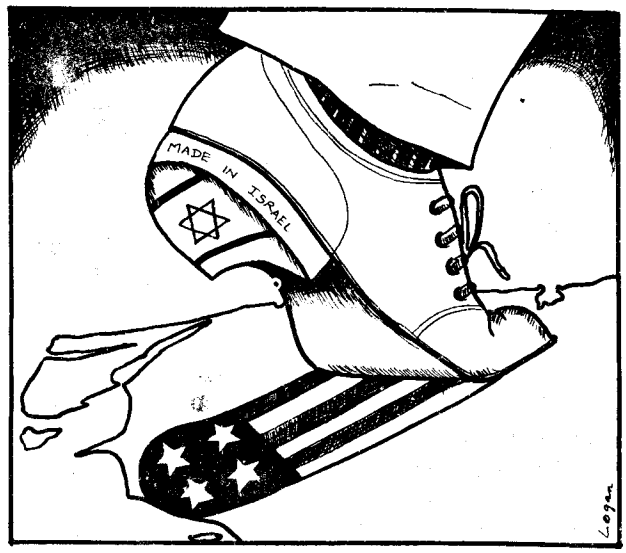
WITH LOVE FROM ISRAEL

LAWS TO STARVE, ENSLAVE & ANNIHILATE THE TAMILS OF SRI LANKA



The Tamil people have experienced collective reprisals from the marauding Sri Lankan troops and racist mob violence during the often repeated anti-Tamil pogroms for the last three decades. However the latest draconian measures announced by the Minister of National Security on November 28 and implemented with unprecedented severity have institutionalised collective punishment within the legal framework of the country.

In this exercise, there is ample demonstration that the Israeli advisers have had a deep involvement. The measures promulgated in the form of Emergency Regulations closely resemble the various Military Orders that have been in operation in the occupied West Bank aimed at collectively penalising the Arabs and Palestinians to ensure Israeli hegemony over them and set up Jewish settlements in the occupied territories.

In their report, 'The West Bank and the Rule of Law', the International Commission of Jurists said:

'The concept of personal responsibility is essential to the rule of law. Laws and practices which impose punitive measures upon non-offenders are inherently unjust and oppressive. The imposition of collective punishment involves taking summary action without any trial or the possibility of judicial review. The intention is to achieve immediate results through the intimidation of whole sectors of the population. Another intention is that through punishing entire groups for the acts of an individual community pressure will be brought to bear against the individual.

Over the last 13 years of the occupation, collective and vicarious punishment in various forms has been part of the Israeli policy of keeping the West Bank people under check.'

Although the Israeli connection with the Sri Lankan authorities, especially the security services, came to public knowledge only since 1984, the Sri Lankan security services have time and time again penalised the Tamil population collectively for several years. For instance, in August 1977, they went on a rampage and burnt down half the city of Jaffna and killed several Tamil civilians. In May-June 1981, they ran berserk and set ablaze market squares, shops, houses, printing presses, the Jaffna Library, scores of private vehicles, etc, in many parts of the northern Tamil areas. In July 1983, they burnt down half the eastern Tamil city of Trincomalee and killed several civilians. These and many other crimes of widespread arson and murder were attributed to 'indisciplined men in the forces, although the government conveniently chose not to take any action by instituting neither take any action by instituting either disciplinary or criminal proceedings

Israeli expertise

However, since the much publicised involvement of the Israeli Intelligence Services, particularly the Mossad, the pattern of operations by the Sri Lankan Security forces has borne the indelible imprint of Israeli expertise applied in the West Bank. Naval shelling of coastal villages like Point Pedro, Valvettiturai and Mathagal in northern Jaffna, the rounding-up of all males between certain ages from several Tamil villages, and assaulting, harassing, torturing and detaining them for prolonged periods, smack of Israeli advice and practice.

It was and is not uncommon in the occupied West Bank for the Israeli military to move in large numbers into an area where an incident of guerilla activity has taken place, and attack, bulldoze and demolish properties belonging to uninvolved civilians. 'In a matter of few hours, totally innocent people are rendered homeless' (ICJ Report, page 79). This practice has become widely prevalent in the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka, except that the troops are indiscriminate in burning and destroying properties, sometimes with people in them. A case in point is the burning down of approximately 120 homes and properties in the north western Tamil district of Mannar on August 12 last year as a reprisal for the death of one soldier in a land-mine explosion. Setting ablaze properties belonging to Tamils has become a standard practice for the security forces.

Rounding-up operations involving the arrest of several hundreds of Tamil males at a time, and not infrequently Tamil young girls, from villages in the northern and eastern provinces, detaining and torturing them, began on a regular basis in the middle of 1984 since the Israeli involvememnt became more and more active. An estimated 10,000 Tamils, particularly those between the ages of 16 and 40 are today detained in the Sri Lankan army camps. These types of operations have not been unusual in the West Bank for a number of years:

'The authorities move speedily in a dragnet fashion and arrest all persons in the vicinity. These individuals are then interrogated, harassed, humiliated and punished by being forced to stand in the sun or rain for hours. It is understandable that some routine security check is legitimate to enable police to apprehend the suspects; however, it is often clear that the soldiers are merely using the opportunity to take revenge for what has just happened. This is revealed by the fact that the intensity of harassment, the length of detention and severity of the punishment is noticeably (dis)proportionate to the seriousness of the incident' (page 79, ICJ Report on the West Bank, 1980).

While revenge-seeking retaliatory reprisals are part of the Israeli security policy and practice, the Sri Lankan security forces have been more callous, ruthless and indiscriminate in their operations against Tamils and their properties. For instance, in exacting revenge for the death of one soldier, on December 4 last year the troops went on a rampage of murder

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and arson killing over 102 Tamil civilians in Mannar and burning properties. People were gunned down in streets, in a post office, in the fields, in their homes and in buses.

Collective punishment institutionalised

The hitherto unwritten practice of inflicting collective punishment upon the Tamil people has now assumed legislative institutionalisation with the enactment of certain Emergency Regulations in late November last year. A comparison of the Regulations with the Military Orders made by the Israelis for the West Bank would demonstrate beyond any doubt the scale and extent of Israeli involvement even in the legislative processes affecting the rights and lives of the people of Sri Lanka.

The government has openly conceded that these Emergency Regulations are aimed at the Tamil people collectively. On 28.11.84, the Minister of National Security told the Sri Lankan Parliament:

'Many of the restrictions which are the aim of the new regulations are certainly unpleasant and likely to affect the lives of many persons, not themselves responsible for the current situation which has made the promulgation of these regulations necessary.'

While it cannot be doubted that groups of Tamil militants have engaged in occasional acts of political violence which the government regard as acts of terrorism, the vast mass of the Tamil people living in areas affected by these regulations have not taken up arms against the government. In spite of the severe depredations to which they have been subjected to over the years, they have remained, and still do remain, law-abiding and defenceless people committed to lead a normal civilian life. According to the Minister himself, 'these regulations impose severe hardships on persons living in the relevant areas in the country, and they undisputedly do . . .'

Prohibited Zone

The Emergency Regulations (Establishment of a Prohibited Zone) Regulation No.1 of 1984 declared the creation of a Prohibited Zone comprising:

(1) All that area within a limit of 100 metres landwards and a limit of five miles seawards extending from Mullaitivu to Mannar along the North Eastern, Northern and West Coast;

(b) The waters of the Jaffna Lagoon; and

(c) The roadway covering a distance of 25.20 miles from Ponnalai to Jaffna.

The regulation makes it an offence for any person to enter into or remain in the Prohibited Zone for any purpose whatsoever without the authority of the Superintendent of Police. Since the imposition of the zone, no one has been given authority to enter or remain within it.

The purpose behind the establishment of the Prohibited Zone was spelt out by the Minister when he told Parliament that 'there should be even this small area of land bordering the Northern coast completely free from human habitation and human activities' for 'the effective operation of the security forces'. He added that he could not guarantee the effective functioning of the forces unless 'this No Man's Land in the form of a Prohibited Zone — a cordon sanitaire — is established in this manner'.

Scale of the tragedy

The sheer extent and scale of the human tragedy brought about by the government's attempt to prohibit any form of 'human habitation and human activities' in this 'small area' is unbelievably horrendous:

○ An estimated 200,000 Tamil people who have lived for generations in this 'small area' comprised within the Prohibited Zone have been rendered homeless overnight. The government has not made any provision for their accommodation even temporarily. They have been required to evacuate with no other place to go. They have become refugees living in churches and temples.

○ Fishing has been banned in the waters of the northern coast. **'The Sri Lankan government's ban on fishing in the mainly Tamil north of the island . . . is causing great hardship and threatening thousands of people with starvation, church and fishing community leaders say. The Roman Catholic Church is trying to feed fishing villages in the north . . . The ban is hurting the fishing communities, which catch about two-fifths of Sri Lanka's fish and get about seven-tenths of their protein from fish. The Vicar-General of Jaffna said . . . In Greater Jaffna alone, 3,000 families are not getting enough to eat. "I have been watching them deteriorate. Another month of this and you will see disaster." With a lawyer who picked a route to avoid the dreaded army patrols, I drove to the fishing village of Myliddy, 12 miles from Jaffna. Today many people are destitute and many have sold jewellery, the family treasure, to buy food.'** (Trevor Fishlock reporting from Jaffna, THE TIMES, 2.1.85)

○ The Citizens Committee of the northern coastal town of Valvettiturai has, in a memorandum addressed to the Sri Lankan President, revealed the wide-ranging drastic consequences fo their area following the imposition c the Prohibited Zone. Among othe matters they drew his attention to th following:

● **Almost 40 per cent of the population of the district who have lived along the northern coastline from Ponnalai to Point Pedro, would fall within the Zone;**

○ **The fish industry of the area which produces 25 per cent and during particular seasons as high as 40 per cent of the country's fish production would come to a halt and result in inescapable starvation and deaths. The fisheries harbours at Myliddy, Nagarkovil and Point Pedro would fall into disuse;**

○ **The Prohibited Zone along the coastline embraced almost all the schools of the area, some of them nationally renowned like the Hartley College and the Methodist Girls High School.**

○ **Fifty per cent of the population of the Valvettiturai Urban Council area (13,982 living in 7.8 sq kms.) fall within the Zone. Seven schools, including five major ones, the hospital, post office, Urban Council office, three crematoria and a burial ground fall within the prohibited area;**

○ **The impression given in the government-controlled media that the Prohibited Zone comprises a sandy tract was wrong. The area covered a large amount of huts (their only homes) of fishing families and houses of the relatively well-to-do, some of them architecturally significant and as old as 200 years;**

○ **The Prohibited Zone emcompassed important trunk routes including several bus routes.**

○ **Even with full state support, evacuation of all people from the Zone would require at least a month and to carry out the order to evacuate within hours was humanly impossible. There was not a place or places within the Jaffna peninsula to house all the evacuees.**

With the establishment of the Prohibited Zone, the Tamil people have virtually become encircled and besieged. As the Minister said, the land and the sea along the northern coast has been made 'completely free from human habitation and human activities', giving a free hand to the security forces which have acquired a worldwide reputation for their indiscipline and indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians.

It is feared that the forcible evacuation of the Tamil people from the entire area of the northern coastline is intended to achieve a much more sinister and malevolent purpose. In the West Bank, the Israelis used the power to declare certain areas 'closed', not only to set up military posts, but also 'as a **prelude to expropriating land, and building settlements on it**'. Just as many thousands of Sinhala people have colonised and are colonising vast tracts of traditional Tamil heartlands in the Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Mullaitivu and Vavuniya districts under state-organised and funded colonisa-

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tion programmes and accompanied by violence and terror against the traditional Tamil and Muslim inhabitants of the area, the northern coastline could eventually become ringed not only with military camps but also with settlements of Sinhala people brought from elsewhere in the country.

One could notice a remarkable convergence of policy and practice between the Israeli plan of Jewishisation of the West Bank and the scheme for Sinhalisation of traditional Tamil homelands in Sri Lanka.

The basic cornerstone of Israeli policy in regard to the West Bank is illustrated in the following two quotations:

'Expand and deepen Jewish settlements in areas where the contiguity of the Arab population is prominent and where they number considerably more than the Jewish population; examine the possibility of diluting existing Arab population concentrations.'
(From a secret memorandum from the District Commissioner of the Northern District to the Israeli Prime Minister, March 1976)

'The disposition of the settlements must be carried out not only *around* the settlements of the minorities, but also *in between them*, this in accordance with the settlement policy adopted in Galilee and in other parts of the country.'
— World Zionist Organisation, Plan for the 'development of settlements in Judea and Samaria, 1979–83.

In Sri Lanka, the policies of successive Sinhala-dominated governments have been remarkably indentical to that of the Israelis.

"Under the guise of combatting 'terrorism' by the Tamil Tigers, the military have moved into the predominatly Tamil areas in the North, assuming broad authorities under the 1979 Prevention of Terrorism Act. Acts of state terrorism in the North, particularly during March and April 1984, have taken on the form of 'collective punishment'. Since early 1984, Israeli security advisers have been called in to train Lankan security personnel. Already, the structural similarities between the Tamils of Sri Lanka and the Palestinians are notable – again, policies centred on land, control, demography, and terror combine in order to consolidate a configuration of Sinhala hegemony. Right-wing Buddhists who view the Sinhalese as chosen guardians of Buddhism, have already paved the way — 'To some extent the Tamils are cast in the role of the Philistines, "good" kings being those who, like Dutthagamani, smote the Tamils hip and thigh, and did so, partly at least, with religious motives.' In order to break up areas of contiguous Tamil habitation, inroads into predominantly Tamil areas in the Eastern and Northern provinces have been made by Sinhalese settlers, supported by government and police, and encouraged by right-wing Buddhist clergy, acting like the local equivalent of Gush Emunim. Over the past year this scheme to create 'chequered patterns of settlement' has been supplemented by the establishment of army camps in the north. The Jaffna peninsula is gradually being turned into a Lankan West Bank. Sinhala chauvinism used as an instrument of state power again calls to mind the psychological climate of Israel. On the basis of an analysis of Israeli policies on the West Bank one could almost predict the forms Israeli security advice in Sri Lanka is taking."

— Jan Nederveen Pieterse, on Israel's Role in the Third World – Exporting West Bank Expertise

Security Zone

The Emergency Regulation (Establishment of a 'Security Zone') Regulation No.1 of 1984, declaring the Districts of Jaffna and Kilinochchi as a 'Security Zone' is substantially similar to the provisions of Israeli government' Military Order No.3 (later replaced by Military Order No.378 with the same provisions) under which the whole of the West Bank was declared a 'closed area'.

The Israeli Military Order, inter alia, contained provisions relating to prevention of movement of people within, from and into the 'closed area'; the prohibition, restriction and regulation of ownership and use of vehicles' the closure, control or regulation of roads'; the requirement to carry identity cards every time a person leaves his home; registration of household members, etc.

Its Sri Lankan counterpart, the Emergency (Establishment of a "Security Zone") Regulation No.1 of 1984 makes provision inter alia, for the following:

(a) All persons must carry with them their National identity cards and produce them for inspection whenever required by the security forces;
(b) No person shall enter or leave the Security Zone without previously informing the Assistant Government Agent of the Division in which he resides;
(c) No person resident within the Security Zone shall possess any motor vehicle, motor cycle, lorry, motor coach, omnibus, or pedal-cycle without the written authorisation from the police of the area.
(d) Even if one has written authorisation to possess a motor vehicle, etc., or pedal-cycle, he shall use it only on specified roads and during specified times. The use of vehicles is restricted between 6am to 8.30am towards Jaffna and 2pm to 4pm from Jaffna.
(e) Only motor vehicles painted in the assigned colour can be used on specified roads.
(f) The number of authorised dealers of fuel have been reduced to fourteen and no one other than an authorised dealer shall possess fuel in excess of 10 litres. Authorised dealers are prohibited from supplying to any person or vehicle fuel in excess of 10 litres.
(g) The security forces are empowered to remove any articles, substance or thing which they regard as a visual impediment or a barrier against movement irrespective of whether such impediment or barrier is of a permanent or temporary nature.
(h) A premises, vehicle or equipment which is believed by the security forces to have been used in the commission of an offence, may be liable to search, seizure, removal or detention.

Normal life crippled

These restrictions upon the lives and rights of the Tamil people are, to say the least, most draconian and oppressive. Within the short time they have been in operation, normal life within the area of the security zone has been crippled. There is a virtual cessation of movement of people in pursuit of their day-to-day life because of the virtual ban on the use of all private vehicles including bicycles.

Although there is provision for use of private vehicles with special permits, no machinery has been yet set up for the issue of such permits. The only form of public transport, the bus service, has been severely curtailed by extended curfews and other restrictions, and operates only for a few hours a day and that too on 'approved routes'. There is an acute shortage of petrol and other fuel because of the 10-litre restriction. Even doctors travelling to and from hospitals are compelled to use ambulances.

In the absence of any other form of transport, the once discarded bullock-carts are the only mode of transport of people and goods. And even these bullock-carts are allowed to be used only during specified times of the day — 6.30am to 8.30am and 2.30pm to 4.30pm — and along 'approved roads'. People with serious illnesses are literally dying unable to be transported to a hospital in time. Child-births are taking place at home and in bullock-carts on the way to hospitals and many mothers and babies have died due to lack of medical attention in time.

Agricultural produce is not reaching the markets and shops causing acute shortage. The farmers who normally work during early mornings and late afternoons are prevented from undertaking their normal farming activities due to the 6.00pm to 6am curfew. Recently the soldiers shot dead a man and two women for being in their fields just half an hour after the beginning of the curfew. **'Rigid curfew and a plethora of complex regulations and (permits) have reduced transport to skeleton services. People find it hard to get to work and to transport food and raw materials. The army has its grip on the jugular of commerce. Factories are closing, trade in most shops has dwindled. It is becoming impossible to freight goods to and from Colombo by road. People are dying because they cannot be taken by hospital during the 6pm to 6am curfew. Jaffna Hospital is running out of vital drugs,**

PLEASE TURN TO PAGE 20

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TERRORISM IS NOT THE FUNDAMENTA

By Dr Nihal Jayewickrema — former Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Justice, Sri Lanka ——

The following were introductory remarks made by Dr Nihal Jayewickrema at a recent seminar on National Harmony held at the Scott Hall Methodist College, Colombo.

Some of you have read in the newspapers a series of articles containing the results of part of the research done by Mr Jehan Perera, a young Sri Lankan now studying at Harvard. He visited different parts of the country and met people, made friends with them and sometimes lived with them in their village homes. He was seeking to ascertain the Sinhala perception of the ethnic problem.

Many decisions are taken or not taken by our political leadership because of what, we are told, that body of people described as the 'Sinhala masses' either desire or do not desire. We are told, for instance, that those who stand in the way of genuine devolution of power are the 'Sinhala masses'.

At the two recent by-elections held in Minneriya and Kundasale, at least one political party complained that the Lion Flag (not the national flag) flies only over seven provinces now, and pledged to hoist it in the other two provinces as well if the 'Sinhala masses' voted for that party's candidates, because those who spoke from platforms on behalf of that party probably believed that was what the 'Sinhala masses' genuinely desired.

Therefore, there was nothing intrinsically wrong, I suppose, in Jehan Perera wanting to find out for himself what it is that the much-maligned 'Sinhala masses' actually feel and think and believe in, at least in regard to the ethnic problem.

In the village of Warawewa, deep into the heartland of Raja Rata, a relatively self-sufficient peasant community told him they were in favour of a political rather than a military solution. They had no objection to regional autonomy, provided the centre had ultimate control over the autonomous regions. In the village of Balalla, across the coconut belt of Kurunegala, he found a receptive community that recognised the existence of Tamil grievances and was willing to accept regional autonomy if it could be shown to be a viable solution which would not slide towards a separate state. Among the working class in Colombo, opinion was unanimous that the minority Tamils were not entitled to equality of status with the majority Sinhalese. Most of those interviewed favoured a military solution and believed the 'terrorists' could be surgically wiped out without much difficulty. Opinion was near unanimous against the granting of regional autonomy.

Moving further up the social ladder, also in Colombo, among the more affluent professional classes the perception was that 'terrorism' was the real problem, and that if 'terrorism' could be eliminated, the Tamil problem would be solved.

The majority, particularly the Buddhists, stressed the need to give the armed forces more power, and were against any form of regional autonomy.

Fundamental problem

If Jehan Perera's research conclusions are reasonably accurate, there should be at least a few hawks among those present today. If there are, I would like to proceed immediately to tell them that, in my view, the fundamental problem that we are faced with is not one of terrorism, but of the denial or violation of human rights. How else would you describe the situation in which, for instance, 530 students find themselves in today? They sought admission to the medical, science and engineering faculties of our universities in the academic year 1983/84, and secured the necessary grades and aggregates for admission, but were excluded because of the emphasis that is now placed on district quotas rather than on merit. Of this number, 23 were from Kandy, 40 from Galle, 45 from Matara, 198 from Jaffna and 224 from Colombo.

If you regard Kandy, Galle and Matara as exclusive Sinhala areas, and Colombo as mixed, then the majority of those qualified students who are being denied university education today are Tamils.

I am not here trying to score a political point, because the position in, for example, 1975, was not any better. On the application of the district quota that year, Galle and Jaffna, both of which had approximately the same population, were each declared entitled to 29 places in the medical faculty. But only 18 actually qualified on the basis of merit from Galle, 61 had done so from Jaffna.

Similarly, while the places declared available in the Engineering and Science faculties that year for each was 20, 24 had qualified from Galle in comparison to 56 from Jaffna.

If international human rights law, to which we subscribe, to which our government subscribes, requires access to higher education to be determined 'on the basis of capacity', has there not been, for nearly two decades now, a violation of a human right?

How else would you describe the position in regard to employment in the state sector? Between 1977 and 1981, there were 9,965 vacancies that occurred in the clerical service. Those vacancies were filled by the appointment of 9,326 Sinhalese and 492 Tamils; i.e. 93.6 per cent Sinhalese and 4.9 per cent Tamils. 29,218 teachers were recruited during the same period, of whom 25,553 or 87.5 per cent were Sinhalese, as against 2,084 or 7.1 per cent Tamils.

Quite apart from international human rights law, our own Constitution prohibits discrimination on ethnic grounds, but can it be seriously contended by anyone that at least in the matter of selecting clerks to the state service, there has been no discrimination.

And if you shut out the average Tamil youth from education as well as from employment, what is it that you expect him to do? Even the cultivation of chillies and onions for the domestic market is not an economically viable enterprise in today's free and liberalised economy.

No mere goodwill

If you agree with me that minority communities no longer have to depend upon the tolerance and goodwill of the majority for their existence or livelihood, and that they have rights in common with, and no less than, anyone else; and that, as far as the Tamil-speaking people of the Northern Province are concerned, at least some of those rights have been denied or violated in recent years, it will be easier to understand a community that voted for the acceptance of the Soulbury Constitution and joined the late Mr D.S. Senanayake in charting the course of this newly independent country, and thereby entered the mainstream of Sri Lankan political life, found it necessary to assemble at Vaddukkodai on May 14, 1976, and declare not only that they, the Tamils of Ceylon, were a separate nation distinct and apart from the Sinhalese; but also that they were resolved to establish the separate State of Tamil Eelam: a declaration that was enforced a year later at the general election of July 1977 by the large majority of the Tamil-speaking people of the Northern Province.

I am not advocating the bifurcation of this island and the creation of two

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PROBLEM

sovereign states within its natural borers. As I understand it, the right of self-determination, which any minority community is entitled to exercise, acquires different meanings in different contexts. The native Africans of Namibia are entitled to their own sovereign and independent state in the territory which South Africa still regards as one of its dependent territories.

But the position in Sri Lanka is different from that in South Africa — at least in some respects. We profess to respect human rights, democratic principles and the rule of law. We have made commitments to the international community that we shall do so. We have recognised the right of other states to complain to international tribunals if we cannot do so. We have sought and obtained representation in these international tribunals in order that we may thereby monitor the performance of other states and ensure that they fulfil their obligations in the same way that we do.

And, if we occasionally overlook minor irritations like holding a general election, we have devised other machinery, such as the All Party Conference, through which national problems may yet be resolved.

In that context, the right of self-determination means the right of a minority community to freely determine its political status and freely pursue its economic, social and cultural development within the sovereign and independent state to which they already belong, and in which they already live.

This, they are seeking to do by asking for regional autonomy, for an opportunity to participate in the decision-making process at the centre, for freedom from discrimination at least in the matter of education and employment, and for the restoration of other basic human rights.

Some among them obviously feel that they have waited too long in vain; made too many pacts which have not been honoured; relied on too many promises that have not been kept.

It is good for us to remind ourselves that time does not stand still — not even in what we are told is paradise — and that a document as sanctified as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights asserts that it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law.

WHY T.U.L.F. REJECTED PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS

'We are constrained to state that the two Bills before this Conference do not embody the scheme of autonomy which could be accepted by the Tamil people or their accredited representative, the TULF,' said Mr A. Amirthalingam, the leader of the Tamil United Liberation Front, in a statement made on behalf of his party after the All Party Conference (APC) was formally wound up on 21.12.84.

The following is the full text of the TULF statement:

'In response to an invitation from President Jayawardene dated December 28, 1983, the TULF agreed to attend the All Party Conference summoned for January 10, 1984, on the basis of certain proposals 'to enable them to arrive at an acceptable solution to the present problems facing the Tamil community in Sri Lanka'.

When those proposals were abandoned, the TULF would normally have withdrawn from the conference. But we continued to participate and pursue the search for an acceptable viable alternative to our demand for an independent State of Tamil Eelam.

Mrs Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister of India, who 'offered her good offices to enable a final solution to be reached' and her Special Envoy Mr G. Parthasarathy, played a very big part in persuading the TULF to continue the negotiatory process.

In view of certain aspersions cast by some people on India's role in this matter, it behoves me to place this fact on record. **India has been the biggest factor working for a peaceful political solution.**

In the very first statement we made at the Conference, we indicated that though we were elected on a mandate to work for a separate State, if an acceptable and viable alternative is offered, we were willing to recommend it to our people.

Even in the face of total absence of positive response on the part of leading Government Members — even when the majority Sinhala Opposition party avoided the responsibility by walking out — we continued to participate because of our party's commitment to non-violence an integral part of which is the path of negotiation.

We indicated that a solution based on a Tamil linguistic region, consisting of the Northern and Eastern Provinces, granting regional autonomy to the Tamil nation as contained in the proposals placed before this conference by the Ceylon Workers Congress, may be one we could recommend to the Tamil people.

We also said that the regional body should be 'empowered to enact laws and exercise thereto on certain specified listed subjects, including the maintenance of internal law and order in the region, the administration of justice, social and economic development, cultural matters and land policy'.

A careful study of the provisions of the draft bills placed before the Conference will convince anyone that they fall far short of the regional autonomy indicated above.

When we accepted the scheme of District Development Councils in 1980, it was clearly understood that it was not meant to be an alternative to our demand for a separate State.

It was hoped that it may help to solve some of the pressing problems, like colonisation, and ease tensions thereby creating the climate for a solution to the larger political question.

The total failure of the Government to work that scheme in the proper spirit has largely contributed to the present situation. The repetition of the provisions of the same law in the present draft is totally unacceptable to the Tamil people.

The bills do not embody a proper scheme of devolution or autonomy. Devolution to the larger unit should be done by the Constitution and that unit may delegate any functions to the smaller unit.

I am surprised that even these meagre and inadequate provisions are being opposed by some responsible persons.

We have endeavoured both in the All Party Conference and in informal discussions outside to work out a peaceful solution.

Time is running out. The Tamil areas are under virtual siege. Normal life has come to a standstill. Death, arson, rape and looting, stalk our areas. Starvation is staring the poor people in the face.

This is the grim reality of the situation in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

We are constrained to state that the two Bills before this Conference do not embody any scheme of autonomy which could be accepted by the Tamil people, or their accredited representatives, the Tamil United Liberation Front.'

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GROTESQUE, GHASTLY GENOCIDE

NOVEMBER 8, 1984

TORTURE ADMISSION BY LALITH? The Batticaloa citizens' committee told visiting Minister of Internal Security Mr Lalith Athulathmudali that the government should use the 'lie detector' on prisoners detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA), instead of torturing them to get at the truth. Lalith replied that he too liked it that way but there were others who thought otherwise.

SIX YOUTHS ARRESTED: The army arrested six innocent Tamil youth residing at Thirumagal Road, Ariyalai West.

NOVEMBER 9, 1984

100 YOUTHS ARRESTED: At Vavuniya 100 Tamil youths were arrested by the Army for not being in possession of their National Identity cards. The arrests were under the PTA.

NOVEMBER 10, 1984

TEMPLE DESECRATED: Troops desecrated the Anaikottai Mootha Vinayagar Temple today romping about its sanctum in boots and harassing the priest, under the guise of looking for terrorists.

25 ARRESTED: 25 people including Tamil students and fishermen who were waiting for a bus at the Mullaitivu bus-stand, were arrested by the troops under the PTA.

NOVEMBER 12, 1984

LALITH'S MEN THROW ACID: S. Selvarani, a 24-year-old female undergraduate of the University of Jaffna, had acid thrown on her face by army men from convoy at Thinnaiveli. She was cycling her way to the campus when the incident occurred.

ARSON: Two houses were set on fire by troops, one at Paravi Painthan and the other at Thirunagar old colony — both at Kilinochchi.

NOVEMBER 13, 1984

MORE ACID THROWING: Lalith Athulathmudali's troops today continued their acid-throwing campaign on Tamil ladies. Mrs Arasaratnam and Mrs Maurthalingam (both teachers) and a student from the Vembadi Girls High School, Jaffna, had acid thrown on them by an army convoy at First Cross Street, Jaffna, while on their way to school. As the news reached the nearby Courts complex in Jaffna, all solicitors walked out in protest, bringing Jaffna Magistrate's Courts, the High Courts and the District Courts to an abrupt adjournment. Later on in the day an army officer, Colonel Wimalaratne, visited the school and apologised to the Principal for the incident. He also assured that such incidents would not occur in the future.

INDIRA POSTER – YOUTHS ARRESTED: Ten Tamil youths were taken into custody by the army at Vattakachchi under the PTA for putting up posters with Indira Gandhi's picture.

500 YOUTHS ARRESTED: Security forces took into custody virtually every Tamil youth in sight at Kilinochchi. Some were tied up to lamp-posts and assaulted. In all, about 500 were arrested under the PTA and paraded through the town with their hands tied behind them. Later on in the day, the bodies of three of them were found strewn along the roadside, riddled with bullets.

NOVEMBER 15, 1984

MINES LAID BY NAVY? Saminathan Anton, a fisherman from Navanthurai who went out fishing in the Pannai sea this morning, had his hand blown off when he picked up a spherical object floating in the sea. It is said that the Navy had laid mines in the sea in that area. Meanwhile, a dusk-to-dawn curfew has been declared in the KKS harbour area, which will be under the command of the security forces during these hours. It will be out of bounds to all civilians at these times.

ARSON, ARRESTS AT NUWARA ELIYA: Security forces extended their campaign of repression of Tamils to the central highland town of Nuwara Eliya, when they set fire to a shop belonging to a Tamil and arrested serveral plantation Tamil youths and teachers.

INDIRA MOURNERS SHOT DEAD: Mr A. Amirthalingam, the TULF leader, while addressing a meeting in memory of Indira Gandhi at Tellippalai, said that shortly after Indira's death he was travelling in the Jaffna–Colombo train. As the train was on the move at Pungankulam and Meesalai, troops travelling in the train had shot and killed several Tamil youths who were putting up black flags by the wayside.

NOVEMBER 16, 1984

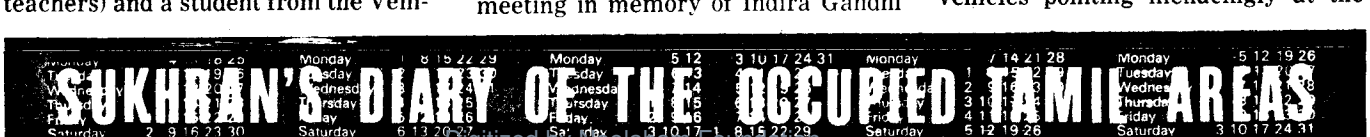
RAPED & RUN OVER: A Tamil woman named Kumari Theresa Augustine from Puloly East in the Jaffna district was raped by the soldiers and later run over by an army truck. This incident happened near the village of Achchuvely.

COACH ATTACKED: A private coach belonging to 'Pillayar Vilas' plying from Colombo to Jaffna with Tamil passengers was attacked at Negombo by Sinhalese thugs. The bus was damaged and many passengers seriously injured. Every passenger was relieved of his belongings by the thugs.

NOVEMBER 18, 1984

SIX KILLED AT KOPAY: The army went on a shooting spree at Kopay killing six including a young girl and injuring several others. Two of the dead have been identified as Kandasamy Sivasubramaniam (45 years) and Sadasiram Manimaran (16 years). The incident occurred near the third milepost on the Point Pedro road at Kaddapirai. The troops are said to have thrown a bomb into a garage where some youths were repairing a van and then emptied several rounds of ammunition on innocent civilians who were around. There were no guerrillas anywhere near the place. It was another incident for the government to talk about 'exchange of fire between troops and terrorists' and about 'civilians who might have been caught in the cross-fire'!

ARMY INTIMIDATION AT INDIRA MEETING: A public meeting organised at the Hindu Kalyana Mandapam, Nallur, by the TULF to pay homage to the late Indira Gandhi was the scene of intimidation by the army. As the meeting was in progress a convoy of trucks and armoured cars drove up and went round and round the building with the guns in the armoured vehicles pointing menacingly at the



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crowds at the meeting. Most of the people ran away. The meeting was being addressed by the TULF leaders including Messrs Amirthalingam and Sivasithamparam.

NOVEMBER 19, 1984

ARMY RAMPAGE AT TELLIPPALAI: Following a land mine explosion which killed Colonel Ariyapperuma at Varuthalai Vilan. Tellippalai, the army went on the rampage in the area, wreaking havoc, setting fire to several houses of civilians in the area. The houses of the following have been completely razed to the ground: T. Kandavanam (headmaster of village school), I. Sinnadurai (businessman), T. Gunaratnam (teacher), S. Thiruchelvam (retired engineer), N. Karunamoorthy (electricity board foreman), S.Segaratnasingam, Mrs A. Selvamanikkam, and Mrs R. Nalliah. Several houses have been looted by the security forces. Two lorries belonging to a factory have been set on fire by the troops. Over 1,000 people have abandoned their homes and sought refuge at the Mavidapuram Thalaiyiddy Vyravar temple and the Veemankamam Church.

NOVEMBER 20, 1984

ENGINEERS, BEGGARS, WOMEN, AMONG THOSE KILLED: Several hours after an attack on the Chavakachcheri Police Station by Tamil guerrillas, the army settled their score by shooting and killing Miss Nandini (30 years), Mrs Nagamma Murugesu (60 years), Mr Nadarajah and an unidentified beggar in the Chavakachcheri area. They also broke into several houses in the area, stole the valuables and smashed up the houses. Apparently, in another act of reprisal carried out at the Sinhalese city of Anuradhapura, the army opened fire on two Tamil electrical engineers attached to the Electricity Board — Mr Ponnambalam (Meesalai) and Mr Paramsothy and killed them. In fear, seven other Tamil officers attached to the Electricity Board sought refuge at the Anuradhapura Police Station only to be put behind bars there: Mr Velupillai (engineer), Mr Mahesan (accountant), Mr Bhaskaran (administrative assistant), Mr Thamotheram (accountant), Mr Mailvaganan (storekeeper), Mr Ratnasabapathy (electrical superintendent), and Mr Balasingam (chief clerk). Mr Kandasamy, the chief engineer, is reported missing.

COLOMBO BURNS AGAIN: Shops belonging to Tamils were set on fire in Colombo in the Maradana, Borella and Thumbirigasyaya areas while a Tamil was stabbed to death at Borella.

LALITH TO RECLAIM TAMIL HOMELANDS: A Sinhalese newspaper has quoted Minister Lalith Athulathmudali as saying that the government proposes to put an end to the claim of traditional Tamil homelands shortly by colonising the Jaffna district with Sinhalese ex-convicts and fishermen. Has the Minister let the cat out of the bag? The draconian emergency regulations gazetted on November 28, 1984, created a no man's land 100 metres in depth from the seashore of the Northern Province, evacuating thousands of Tamil civilians from their homes. Was this land and home grab for the purpose of this proposed colonisation?

EXODUS? The Jaffna Secretariat has received 3,034 applications for passports from Tamils over the last two weeks, it was reported today. This is an indication of the increasing number of Tamils who are fleeing the country every day to save their lives.

NOVEMBER 22, 1984

250 ARRESTED AT BATTICALOA: In the village of Kaludavil in the Batticaloa District, about 250 Tamils, including women and children have been taken into custody by the armed forces and locked up in police vehicle garages under the PTA.

NEGOMBO, NUWARA ELIYA BURN: Some shops belonging to Tamils were set on fire at Negombo and Nuwara Eliya.

NOVEMBER 23, 1984

NEW MARKET DESTROYED: About 50 troops arrived tonight armed with crowbars, iron rods and other weapons and completely demolished the Kodikamam New Market building. The threequarters completed building had been constructed out of funds provided by the local government authority at a cost of Rs.10 lakhs.

16 TAMIL YOUTHS ARRESTED: 16 innocent Tamil youths were taken into custody at Ramakrishna Road, Wellawatte, Maligawatte, and Kotahena in Colombo under the PTA.

NOVEMBER 24, 1984

MORE SHOOTINGS, ARRESTS: In Jaffna four more civilians have been shot and killed by the army. Security forces travelling by train to Jaffna fired shots indiscriminately through the windows killing four Tamils including a 7-year-old boy. At Vaharai in Batticaloa, two fishing boats have been shot at and destroyed, killing three Tamil fishermen in the process. At Kaluwaanchikudi in the Batticaloa district 123 Tamils and Muslims have been taken into custody under the PTA.

NOVEMBER 29, 1984

4,800 YOUTHS ARRESTED: Over the last few days 4,800 Tamil youths have been held in custody under the PTA. Tamil youth have been taken into custody wherever they were seen — at offices, at restaurants, on the roads, in buses and at their homes. Every Tamil youth is now a terrorist. Meanwhile, draconian emergency laws that remove every vestige of human rights have been announced for the North (details published in December 1984 issue of Tamil Times and this issue elsewhere).

HELICOPTER ATTACK: In a novel display of barbarism, the Sri Lanka Air Force today dropped from a helicopter at Alvai Thikkam a log, 7 feet in length and 1 foot in diameter. The log landed through the roof of a house smashing up a TV set and other furniture and just missing the six-month-old infant of Mr K. Gunasegaram, the unfortunate owner of the house.

LEAVE JAFFNA PENINSULA: LALITH: Speaking in Parliament after announcing draconian emergency laws prohibiting movement of Tamils to and from Jaffna, Mr Lalith Athulathmudali displayed a Gestapo sense of humour in appealing to the people of Jaffna to leave the Jaffna peninsula immediately to save more loss of lives! The people of Jaffna may go to reside with their relatives and friends in other parts of Sri Lanka, he added, in an ominous pointer towards the ruthless massacre that was being planned for Jaffna.

DECEMBER 1, 1984

ATTEMPT TO MURDER INDIAN DETAINEES: Fourteen captains of Indian fishing boats who are being kept in remand custody at Anuradhapura having being captured by the Sri Lanka Navy under the pretext of trespassing on Sri Lankan waters had a narrow shave with death. Certain Sinhalese persons believed to be jail guards had set fire at 6pm today to the prison wing holding the detainees in an attempt to burn them alive. But the fire was detected in time and the detainees moved out to 'safer areas'.

HELICOPTER ATTACK: 200 KILLED: Security forces straffed Tamil civilians from helicopters at Nedunkerny near Vavuniya and dropped incendiary bombs on houses, killing over 200 people and destroying hundreds of houses.

FIRING SQUAD: 27 MURDERED: Tamil civilians of the village of Periyakulam near Vavuniya were lined up and fired upon by death squads of the army. 27 people were killed and many more injured.

DECEMBER 2, 1984

PM INCITES SINHALESE: A public speech made by the Prime Minister R. Premadasa yesterday inciting the Sinhalese people to violence against

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the Tamils is being repeatedly broadcast over the Sri Lanka broadcasting Corporation every hour. It appeals, inter alia, to the Sinhalese people to rise in crusade against those Tamils who are seeking to carve out an 'Eelam' for themselves. It exhorts the Sinhalese people not to rely on the security forces.

64 KILLED AT CHETTIKULAM: 64 innocent Tamil civilians who were rounded up at Chettikulam, near Vavuniya, by security forces, were later found to be dead, their bullet-ridden bodies being strewn by the roadside.

DECEMBER 3, 1984

52 PRISONERS KILLED: 52 innocent Tamil detainees who were being held at the Army camp at Vavuniya were summarily executed by the Sinhala Army. This comes in the wake of the Welikade Prison killing (53) of July 1983 and the Chunnakam Prison killing (27) of April 1984. The government fabricates that the Vavuniya detainees were shot when trying to escape from the camp. Meanwhile, all Tamil detainees held in Batticaloa have been shifted to army camps at Boosa and Tangalle and are held as 'hostages'.

TAMIL TV — RADIO MEN SENT HOME: All Tamil employees of the state-owned Sri Lankan Broadcasting Corporation and Sri Lanka Rupavahini (TV) Corporation are being sent on compulsory leave with effect from today.

40 MASSACRED: More than 40 Tamil civilians from the village of Othiyamalai, near Nedunkerny have been massacred to death by the soldiers. The government claimed that Tamil guerrillas massacred them to put the blame on the troops! Out of the 40, 27 were Tamil youths aged between 16 and 32. They had been arrested and then taken to the Village Council building where after tying their hands behind their backs they had been shot dead.

DECEMBER 4, 1984

PUTTILAM BURNS: Sinhalese workers from the State Transport Board at Puttalam buried down 25 houses belonging to Tamils in the area. The police turned a blind eye.

100 KILLED AT VAVUNIYA: More than 100 Tamil civilians were massacred at Vavuniya by the soldiers and Sinhalese thugs. Vavuniya Hospital sources said that there was a constant stream of dead bodies flowing into the hospital mortuary, which has been stretched to 20 times its capacity.

GOVT. ARMS SINHALESE CIVILIANS: The Government distributed free arms and ammunition and hand grenades to all Sinhalese living in the Tamil districts and adjoining Sinhalese villages and exhorted them to attack Tamils.

POSTAL STAFF SLAUGHTERED: Soldiers stormed into the Post Office at Morunkan and shot down the Postmaster and nine other employees. They then left thinking that all their victims were dead. But the Postmaster and five others survived with serious injuries. 27 other Tamil civilians were indiscriminately shot dead and several houses and shops set on fire.

37 BUS COMMUTERS BUTCHERED: A State Transport Board bus plying between Murunkan and Vavuniya was ordered to stop by the soldiers. All passengers were ordered to alight. The bus had a Muslim driver and a Sinhalese conductor — Kudadewage Jayasena, who had the decency and bravery to tell the army that the passengers, though Tamil, were in his charge and that no one could harm them without killing him first. The barbaric soldiers did just that. They shot down Jayasena first and then lined up all male passengers and the driver, totalling 17, and gunned them down.

In a similar incident, another state bus was stopped at the 11th mile post between Vavuniya and Mannar and 20 Tamil passengers were shot dead.

The Goebbelsian state media claimed that these raids had been carried out by Tamil guerrillas to besmirch the image (!) of the army angels!

50 KILLED AT PARAPPANKANDAL: At Parappankandal in the Mannar District, over 50 civilians, including a schoolteacher (Mrs John, 50 years), were shot and killed by the soldiers.

16 KILLED AT OOTRUVAYANKULAM: In this farming village near Mannar, Tamil villages having their lunch during paddy transplanting were ordered to lie down and were shot through their heads. 16 people, including two Sinhalese women died.

UYILANKULAM — ARSON, KILLINGS: The soldiers set fire to about 20 houses and shops belonging to Tamils and also killed at least 17 people. The actual number killed could be much more, as the bodies of a good number of those killed were heaped up and set on fire. Several others were killed in paddy fields and swamps and their unidentifiable, dead and decomposing bodies were buried by the wayside by villagers. The village is situated near Mannar.

PARAPPANKANDAL — BREASTFEEDING MOTHER, 11 OTHERS KILLED: A young mother breastfeeding her infant child was killed during random shooting by the army. She died on the spot while three toes were blown off the unfortunate infant. Eleven other Tamil civilians had also been killed in this shooting spree for which air cover had been provided by Air Force helicopters. Parappankandal is another village situated close to Mannar.

SINHALESE VILLAGERS RAMPAGE: Sinhalese villagers in the Vavuniya District, armed by the government, contributed to the carnage by attacking Asikulam, a Tamil village, killing 6 and injuring 12. They also razed to the ground 5 houses.

DECEMBER 5, 1984

SINHALESE THUGS ATTACK: Sinhalese goon squads armed by the government attacked and destroyed an entire Tamil village at Tennamaravadi in the Trincomalee District. 165 Tamil families were rendered homeless and sought refuge in adjoining villages. The government has refused any help to these refugees.

DOCTOR, ENGINEER SLAUGHTERED: At Keppitipola (a Kandyan town), a Tamil doctor and a Tamil engineer were done to death by Sinhalese thugs.

DECEMBER 6, 1984

FOOD SUPPLIES CUT OFF: Food supplies have been completely cut off by the government to the Tamil homelands in the North in an attempt to starve the Tamils to death and eventual submission. Meanwhile, special trains are being run to the North carrying arms and ammunition to the soldiers and thugs engaging the Tamil nation at war. Meanwhile, the State radio has announced that the governments of USA and France have pledged arms support to wipe out the Tamil liberation fighters.

DECEMBER 7, 1984

JOINT RAIDS BY GOONDAS, ARMY: Sinhalse goondas armed by the government and the army carried out a joint operation at the village of Tiryyai in the Trincomalee District. Tamil civilians were ordered to assemble at the village playground and then set upon and assaulted mercilessly by the army and the goondas till their hands and legs ached and they could assault no longer. This soccer game resulted in 150 Tamils being injured and 15 being reported grievously hurt.

PLANTATION TAMILS BLITZED: There have been reports of widespread atacks yesterday on innocent Tamil plantation workers already living below the poverty line. Sinhalese thugs are reported to have attacked Tamil workers at Ruwanwella, Hatton and

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Ratnapura. At Ruwanwella, the line rooms (single-roomed shelters where entire families live) of Tamil workers have been attacked and destroyed. Several Tamil-owned shops have also been burnt down at Hatton and Ratnapura.

DECEMBER 7, 1984

1,000 TAMIL YOUTHS ARRESTED IN COLOMBO: Over the last 48 hours, about 1,000 Tamil youths have been arrested in Colombo. Those who could prove that they were normal Colombo residents were later released. Others, including innocent Tamil youths who had been sent to Colombo by their parents to escape murder or arrest by soldiers in the North, were detained under the PTA. They had been merely following Athulathmudali's advice to the Tamils ten days ago to leave Jaffna!

42 HOUR CURFEW: A 42 hour curfew has been clamped down in the entire Northern Province today.

WAR MINISTER TRUMPETS: Lalith Athulathmudali, Internal Security Minister and de facto Commander-in-chief of the armed forces and the paramilitary thugs, announced today that the Sri Lanka Government has obtained 'sophisticated weapons' from 'friendly countries' to wipe out the Tamil militants.

MOSSAD SHIP IN SUICIDE EXPLOSION: Reports reaching us from Bombay say that a cargo vessel — 'Maguli Malta', said to have been commissioned by the Israeli Mossad to deliver armed shipments to Sri Lanka sank in the Bombay harbour after a suicide explosion. It is said that when Indian authorities were getting ready to inspect the ship, the Jewish captain of the ship (one Raymond) had triggered off a suicide explosion, killing himself and the crew and destroying the ship. An International smuggler by the name of Mohideen Rayaf Sony who is believed to have arrived by that ship is in Indian police custody.

MASS ARRESTS AT KAITHADY: Over 200 innocent Tamil youths are reported to have been rounded up by the security forces today and detained at the Dutch Fort in Jaffna under the PTA.

ARSON AT CHILAW, NEGOMBO: Several Tamil houses were set on fire and destroyed at Chilaw and Negombo by Sinhalese thugs, rendering hundreds homeless.

PRISONERS, DETAINEES SHIPPED TO COLOMBO: 270 prisoners serving jail sentences at the Jaffna prison situated within the Jaffna Fort and 161 innocent Tamil youths arrested at Kaithady were shipped to Colombo from the KKS harbour today. They were taken by special train from Jaffna to KKS and troops accompanying them fired indiscriminately through the train windows injuring several on the wayside.

THE COST OF BEING ALIVE! The following is the price list of some essential food items at Jaffna now: brinjals per kilo Rs.25; potatoes per kilo Rs.30;long beans per kilo Rs25; green chillies per kilo Rs45; tomatoes per kilo Rs20; cabbage per kilo Rs25; coconut each Rs15; Rice per kilo Rs15. The cause? Restricted zones; prohibited zones; curfews; stoppages of transport; army rampages!

THONDA ALSO WHACKED! The Tamil Minister of Rural Industrial Development in the JR government and President of the Ceylon Workers Congress (the largest trade union in Sri Lanka and comprising Tamil plantation workers), Mr S. Thondaman, met President Jayawardene and complained that his trade union office at Vavuniya has been burnt down by the soldiers and the blame put on Tamil guerrillas! He also complained about indiscriminate harassment and arrest of Tamil people in the plantations and in Colombo.

DECEMBER 8, 1984

900 ARRESTED AT MULLAITIVU: Nearly 900 innocent Tamil youths were rounded up in the Mullaitivu district by the security forces and detained under the PTA.

AN APPEAL

The TAMIL TIMES was created out of the Tamil nation's sense of catastrophic loss following the burning by the Sri Lankan security forces of its principal library in 1981. The paper owes its survival as much to its loyal subscribers scattered around the world as to a handful of dedicated workers operating from inadequate rented accommodation with sub-standard facilities in London.

The TAMIL TIMES has an essential role to play in the struggle which is escalating with potentially dangerous consequences for the Tamils of Sri Lanka. We must counter effectively the false propaganda of the Sri Lankan government: we must alert world opinion to the true facts regarding the government's anti-Tamil activities. This is our principal and urgent role. Please help us to play it.

To function effectively we must establish better sources of information and improve the quality of our presentation. But most of all we must reach a wider circle, not only of expatriate Tamils but also the many others who, whilst not personally involved, have felt a sense of outrage when they have been made aware of the gross violation of human rights which have become commonplace in Sri Lanka. All this requires funds as well as a major subscription drive. This is where you can help us.

☆ Of our subscribers we ask that each makes a gift of a year's subscription to friend or enrols a new subscriber.
☆ Of our other readers we ask that they become subscribers and so give us their support.

This paper is not restricted to Tamils. We welcome and indeed would encourage non-Tamils to become regular subscribers. The Tamil Times is a newspaper with an international circulation which highlights the problems facing the Tamils of Sri Lanka.

We need your help to forge it into a powerful weapon in the task of regaining for the Tamils their just rights.

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LAMBS TO THE SLAUGHTER

(Sukhran — reporting from Jaffna)

The sword of Damocles hangs over every Tamil youth, the moment he attains the age of 16 years. To the government of Sri Lanka, every Tamil youth between the age of 16 and 35 years is a terrorist and has to be wiped out.

The Sinhala Gestapo leaders of Sri Lanka, in their ruthless pursuit of this age group, have so far killed thousands of innocent Tamil youths and detained several thousands more in concentration camps.

The most cold-blooded crackdown of Tamil youths so far came in December 1984 when an estimated 6,000 innocent youths were ripped apart from their families and a good majority of them shipped to Colombo to await their day of slaughter.

As in the past, these hostages will be liquidated in batches in the future, under cover of government communiques that they were shot while trying to escape from custody.

These youths, though lambs to the slaughter, are nevertheless martyrs to the cause of the liberation of the Tamil Nation.

Listed below are the names of the first batch of 'lambs' shipped to Colombo on December 14, 1984, by a cargo ship from the Kankesanthurai harbour. Five busloads of them were taken from the Jaffna Fort along KKS Road to the harbour in a massive convoy of armoured vehicles and trucks.

K. Parameswaran — Pandatherippu
R. Ponniah — Siththankerney
N. Wigneswararajah — Chulipuram
V. Rajah — Maanthoppu
K. Shanmugam — Pandatherippu
M. Ravichandran — Nawalapitiya
S. Chandrasekaran — Mathagal
N. Sounderarajah — Chulipuram
K. Kathiramalairajah — Chulipuram
S. Jeyamurugan — Kondavil
K. Sriskandarajah — Anaikottai
S. Bhaskaran — Anaikottai
S. Sithamparanathan — Kokuvil
K. Mudialagan — Anaikottai
A. Rajendran — Vannarpannai
V. Thavachelvam — Kokuvil
V. Padmanathan — Kokuvil
S. Packiyanathan — Ooddumadam
S. Dharmalingam — Karainagar
N. Karan — Kokuvil
R. Parameswaran — Thavady Nth
M. Kandappu — Kokuvil
K. Selvaratnam — Kokuvil
K. Somaskandarajah — Vaddukoddai W
V. Gunalingam — Anaikottai
J. Alfred — Kokuvil
A. Gulasegaram — Kondavil W
P. Premachandran — Anaikottai
T. Mailrajah — Anaikottai
K. Shanmugasunderam — Anaikottai
R. Sharvanandan — Kokuvil
V. Rajakumar — Kokuvil
S. Gnanapragasam — Kokuvil W
S. Selvarajah — Anaikottai
T. Alagaratnam — Kokuvil W
M. Maharoopan — Kokuvil
M. Sivananthan — Anaikottai
M. Arulananthan — Anaikottai
T. Kirubaharan — Anaikottai
M. Vasantharajah — Anaikottai
V. Vivekananthan — Vannarpannai
S. Rasanayagam — Anaikottai
R. Krishnananthan — Kokuvil
B. Mahendran — Kokuvil
M. Francis — Anaikottai
S. Raves — Anaikottai
R. Nesaratnam — Manipay
M. Wigneswaran — Anaikottai
S. Sathyanesan — Anaikottai
P. Sundarasegaram — Anaikottai
S. Thiruchelvanathan — Kokuvil
K. Rajendradas — Kokuvil W
T. Vimalananthan — Inuvil East
V. Selvamurugan — Vannarpannai
S. Amirthalingam — Anaikottai
P. Puvastha — Vannarpannai
M. Ramanathan — Kondavil
A. Saanthakumar — Anaikottai
A. Muthurajah — Kokuvil
A. Tharmapala — Anaikottai
A. Sriskandarajah — Kokuvil
R. Iruthayarajah — Anaikottai
D. Udayakumar — Anaikottai
A.E. Udayarajah — Anaikottai
R. Kamalanathan — Anaikottai
P. Sunderam — Anaikottai
K. Sriskandarajah — Anaikottai
N. Tharumarajah — Kokuvil
S. Dhanarajah — Kokuvil
S. Vipulanandarajah — Kaladdy
R. Bhaheerathan — Erlalai
S. Vigneswaran — Ponnalai
V. Theivendran — Erlalai
T. Thavarajah — Pungudutivu
S. Sivarajah — Mathagal
P. Suresh — Panipulam
A. Jeyachristie — Sillalai
S. Jesuratnam — Pandatherippu
S. Vijayakumar — Sillalai
S.S. Anandarajah — Sillalai
K. Thiruchelvam — Pandatherippu
S. Anton Reynold — Sillalai
M.A. Mariadas — Pandatherippu
P. Thangarajah — Chankanai
A.F. Fernando — Mathagal
P. Singarajah — Chankanai
M. Ponnudurai — Chankanai
V. Nadarajah — Chankanai
S. Asokkumar — Chulipuram
V. Jesudason — Mathagal
A. Lovis — Mathagal
L. Devadason — Mathagal
L. Thamethian — Mathagal
E. Anthony — Pandatherippu
E. Selvaratnam — Pandatherippu
S. Sivaneswaran — Pandatherippu
K. Nadeswaran — Vadukoddai
N. Devadason — Pandatherippu
E. Justman — Sillalai
V. Ponnurajah — Pandatherippu
K. Ashokkumar — Mathagal
S. Stanislaus — Mathagal
P. Rajendran — Chankanai
S.A. Yoganathan — Mathagal
S. Yogeswaran — Sithankerney
K. Sivapalakrishnan — Mathagal
M. Selvadurai — Pandatherippu
S. Chandrapalan — Vadukoddai
A. Ganeshalingam — Sithkerney
M. Mahendran — Sithankerney
S. Balachandran — Pandatherippu
R. Padmanathan — Pandatherippu
S. Perampalam — Pandatherippu
N. Sudahar — Kokuvil
K. Arudchelvam — Pandatherippu
V. Nicholas Marcelyn — Pandatherippu
S. Thanabalasingam — Kankesanthurai
N. Gajendran — Sithankerney
E.B. Jeyaseelan — Pandatherippu
V. Emmanuel — Madhukovil
S. Sathchithanandan — Mullaitivu
E. Ragunathan — Pandatherippu
E. R. Devadas — Pandatherippu
S. Ragunathan — Pandatherippu
S. Ravindran — Pandatherippu
E. Gajendran — Pandatherippu
S. Udayakumar — Pandatherippu
A. Muththulingasamy — Mirusuvil
N. Rajendran — Thondaimannar
S. Satchithanandan — Pathaimeni
A. Jeevan — Thondaimannar
S. Sivalingam — Thondaimannar
S. Chandran — Palaly
E. Pangarajah — Palaly
M. Kathirvelauthan — Thondaimannar
V. Keetheswaran — Ilavalai
S. Yogeeswaran — Thondaimannar
E. Ganeswaran — Thondaimannar
Joseph Peter — Palaly
M. Yogachandran — Thondaimannar
T. Duraisingam — Thondaimannar
T. Appoorvasingam — Thondaimannar
K. Selvam — Thondaimannar
K. Thavarajah — Thondaimannar
V. Sudhakaran — Thondaimannar
S. Subramaniam — Atchuvely
N. Navabalan — Kokuvil
N. Varnasingam — Thondaimannar
I. Chandrasegaran — Thondaimannar
K. Rajendran — Thondaimannar
M. Ravichandran — Thondaimannar
A. Bhaskaramohan — Maviddapuram
K. Rajasingam — Kaithady
I. Naguleswaran — Mullaitivu
I. Sivananthan — Kaithady
K. Skandarajah — Madduvil
K. Logidas — Kaithady
S. Subramaniam — Kaithady
N.A. Vadivel — Kaithady
P. Indran — Kaithady
K. Sivagnanasunderam — Kaithady
K. Sivananthan — Kaithady
S. Sivakumar — Kaithady
M. Pushparajah — Kaithady
P. Wignarajah — Jaffna
K. Selvanayagam — Kaithady
I. Thayaparan — Jaffna
S. Naguleswaran — Kaithady
S. Balakrishnan — Gurunagar
L. Subramaniam — Manipay
A. Kuvikanthan — Kaithady
V. Paaralan — Kaithady
N. Satkulasingam — Kaithady
S. Yogaratanam — Kaithady
V. Arunthavapalan — Kaithady
P. Devarajah — Kaithady
M. Rajendran — Kaithady
P. Patkunarajah — Kaithady
S. Kuhanathan — Kaithady
V. Subramaniam — Kaithady
S. Ganeshan — Kaithady
K. Kalimuttu — Kaithady
K. Ranjan — Kaithady

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S. Sivanayagan — Kaithady
N. Sivaruban — Kaithady
S. Shanmugam — Kaithady
S. Chandra Kumar — Jaffna
P. Ravindran — Kaithady
V. Vijayakumar — Kaithady
K. Thangarajah — Kaithady
S. Sunderalingam — Kaithady
M. Francispalar — Jaffna
S. Ravichandran — Kaithady
S. Krishnarayar — Puttur
V. Sivalingam — Kaithady
S. Poopalasingam — Kaithady
E. Sivalingam — Kaithady
K. Nathan — Kaithady
S. Sivayogananthan — Kaithady
S. Rajadurai — Kaithady
K.K. Naghavan — Kaithady
K. Muruganathan — Kaithady
V. Tharumarajah — Kaithady
S. Yogeswaran — Chavakachcheri
S. Nirmalan — Kaithady
S. Sithambarapillai — Kaithady
S. Sivalingam — Urumpirai
V. Bhasker — Kaithady
K. Rajamohan — Kaithady
K. Thambirajah — Kaithady
K. Sivakumaralingam — Kaithady
K. Sritharan — Kaithady
K.V. Emmanuel — Sillalai
S. Jeyapalan — Kaithady
S. Namasivayam — Kaithady
M. Sivasakthivel — Kaithady
T. Manoharan — Chavakachcheri
V. Ganeshan — Kaithady
P. Gunabalu — Kaithady
M. Ratneswaran — Kaithady
N. Gunam — Kodikamam
A. Mahendran — Kaithady
I. Udayakumar — Pungudutivu
S. Kamalon — Tellippalai
M. Ariyapalan — Kollankallady
M. Logasunderam — Ampanai
S. Murugiah — Pannalai
M. Balakrishnan — Kollankallady
P. Bhaskaran — Tellippalai
R. Dhayapavan — Vavunavattai
S. Narayanamoorthy — Ampanai
I. Rajalingam — Ampanai
N. Vijayaratnam — Kadduvan
P. Murugadas — Tellippalai
S. Ramanathan — Tellippalai
M. Velauthampillai — Veemankamam
M. Arulnandhi — Tellippalai
R. Sreedharan — Tellippalai
S. Navaranjan — Tellippalai
I. Sriskandarajah — Tellippalai
S. Asokan — Tellippalai
K. Chandrabalan — Tellippalai
N. Manoharan — Tellippalai
K. Deventhan — Nayeena Tivu
I. Arunchelvam — Chankanai
R. Shanmuganathan — Vaddukoddai
A. Ramalingam — Chankanai
E. Chelvanayagam — Chulipuram
A. Cheralathan — Vaddukoddai
N. Sri Kanthan — Chulipuram
N. Thirukumar — Chankanai
N. Selvendran — Pandatherippu
K. Jeganathan — Chankanai
K. Indrarajah — Chulipuram
M. Packianathan — Vaddukoddai
S. Yogeswaran — Chankanai
P. Rajkumar — Vadaliyadaippu
N. Sivanandarajah — Chulipuram
T. Arudchelvam — Chulipuram
R. Balasubramaniam — Vadukoddai
V. Packiyanathan — Chulipuram
S. Arudchelvam — Chulipuram
V. Krishnadasan — Chankanai
K. Mahendrarajah — Chulipuram
N. Sritharan — Chankanai
K. Ravindran — Chankanai
E. Aruldas — Pandatherippu
S. Yogeswaran — Kopay
S. Marimuttu — Vaddukoddai
K. Baleswaran — Vaddukodai
S. Raghavan — Vaddukoddai
K. Koneswaran — Chulipuram
S. Jeeva — Pungudutivu
S.C. Karunendran — Vaddukoddai
P. Sivamoorthy — Chankanai
K. Sivendran — Chankanai
T. Sureshan — Chankanai
K. Nadarajah — Chulipuram
K. Sivanathan — Vaddukoddai
N. Navendran — Vaddukoddai
P. Sundaram — Chulipuram
V. Sathananthan — Vaddukoddai
R. Thavarajah — Chulipuram
K. Gunam — Chulipuram
S. Jeyarajah — Chulipuram
V. Sriskandarajah — Chulipuram
S. Vadduvan — Chulipuram
V. Ravindran — Chulipuram
N. Keetheswaran — Chankanai
T. Vairavanathan — Chulipuram
R. Sriskandarajah — Sithankerney
K. Sivanesan — Chulipuram
K. Arudchelvan — Araly South
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S. Rasananthan (Vaddukoddai)
S. Selvarajah — Chulipuram
L. Puvanachandran — Vaddukoddai
S. Anbukarasan — Vaddukoddai
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N. Ragunathan — Urumpirai
N. Parthasiri — Karaikaadu
P. Yogarajah — Thirunelveli
S. Selvaratnam — Vasavilan
S. Nagarajan — Jaffna
S. Pandaran — Urumpirai
I. Kularatnam — Palaly
V. Udayakumar — Kokuvil
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K. Reagan — Kopay
V. Kannan — Manipay
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R. Jeganathan — Rattota
E. Rajaratnam — Matale
M. Chandramohan — Matale
N. Grisadas — Velanai
A. Premaratne — Siththankerny
R. Keetheswaran — Siththankerny
K. Yoganathan — Trincomalee
S.A. Jeevasadan — Mathagal
T. Dhayaparan — Chulipuram
K. Sivalingam — Chulipuram
K. Sathikumaran — Chankanai
N. Sivarajah — Siththankerny
D.A. Ravindran — Madagal
K. Sivaratnam — Pandatherippu
M.E. Rajinidorington — Chulipuram
M.A. Linton — Pandatherippu

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WITH LOVE FROM ISRAEL

FROM PAGE 11

oxygen and anaesthetics (Trevor Fishlock from Jaffna, THE TIMES, 31.12.84).

Shortage of medicines

The Jaffna General Hospital has been deprived of medical supplies from the end of July 1984. Despite repeated requests from the Jaffna Medical Superintendent to the Minister of Health, the requirements of the hospitals have not been met.

'Staff told me they see many victims of army beatings. Typically, boys emerge from interrogation and spells in custody with multiple bruises caused by thrashings with PVC pipes filled with sand. Some have heel fractures, having been suspended and beaten on the feet.

A doctor said: 'I see about five of these cases a week, but remember that many victims do not seek treatment because they are afraid or because it is impossible to travel. The army is behaving atrociously. Troops think they have been sent here to make us submit.'

Recently, one of the medical staff escaped with her life when troops opened fire on two buses in Jaffna, killing five poeple, the doctor said. And a man and his ten-year-old son were shot out of hand on the street last week.

Another doctor said: 'We can only do life or death operations now, so people are suffering. We are not getting our drugs and anaesthetics from Colombo (250 miles to the south). Four X-ray machines are broken down — we cannot get anyone to repair them. We have one machine which is partly working.'

He paused and added: 'We think these people want to annihilate us.' (Trevor Fishlock, from Jaffna, THE TIMES, 2.1.85)

The Secretary of the Jaffna Hospital Committee has now made an urgent appeal to expatriate Tamils to respond with urgently needed supplies. However, no one from outside is able to assist without the government's consent.

Military terror

'Sri Lankan Armed Forces had unleashed a bloody campaign' in the Tamil north where they **'are committing the most grotesque crimes away from international notice'**, reported David Graves of the 'Daily Telegraph' (London). He added: **'Jaffna may be only 300 miles north of Colombo, but it is a world apart. It is under siege. The 800,000 inhabitants of the peninsula live in the shadow of murder, arson, bombings and looting . . . As the first foreign reporter to reach Jaffna . . . I have spent three days listening to a series of appalling stories of rape, massacre and intimidation. I saw two bodies lying in the fields at Vaddukoddai eight miles west of Jaffna, where Dr Neelan Tiruchelvam, a former MP for the area, claimed troops shot dead 40 civilians last week.'**

Trevor Fishlock of THE TIMES (London), 31.12.84, reported: 'Sri Lankan forces are conducting a harsh and remorseless campaign of intimidation among the island's Tamil minority. By means of random murder, indiscriminate shooting, beatings, torture and plunder, ill-disciplined and trigger-happy soldiers keep the Tamils in the north in a state of constant fear.

Many thousands of people, mostly women and children, have fled to India and to Europe. Thousands of youths have been rounded up and held in army camps. Their parents do not know where they are: they have become Sri Lanka's disappeared ones. There is strong evidence of beating, torture and murder of young men in army custody.

Meanwhile, thousands of displaced people, driven from their homes in army 'combing out' operations, are in refugee camps.

Father Michael Samy, Vicar-General of Jaffna, said: 'This is a reign of terror.'

The Bishop of Jaffna said: 'People live in fright and despair. They feel helpless. There is no equality or democracy left here any more. Tamils are being treated as second-class citizens.'

The International Commission of Jurists declared in their 1980 report: 'The most effective means, however, through which the military authorities exercised their large and widely discretionary power of restricting the freedom of movement of the inhabitants of the West Bank is the identification card . . . The harsh agony and humiliations of Palestinian life may be summed up in this Israeli identity card.'

This is no less true of the plight of the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. While it is a requirement of all Tamils to have their identity cards in their possession, it is common for the security forces to confiscate these cards from people and later arrest and detain them for not producing the very cards which they had previously confiscated.

An invented threat of 'invasion' by 4,000 Tamil militants from South India before January 14, 1985, was used by the government to justify the imposition of the most draconian and inhuman measures against the Tamil people. January 14 came and passed without the 'invasion' materialising. Now the Minister of National Security has conjured up another date, April 14, 1985, for this imaginary invasion. So, the reign of terror, arson, murder, rape, torture, starvation, aimed at the annihilation of the Tamil people, will continue with unmitigated cruelty, inhumanity and ferocity.

SLAUGHTER

FROM PREVIOUS PAGE

M. Dhanapalasingam — Siththankerny
S. Gunam — Gurunagar
J. Charles Jeganathan — Madagal
M. Thiruvilangam — Mandaitivu
A.J. Selvarajah — Sillalai
N.J. Arunakumaran — Pandatherippu
M. Mohanadas — Matale
P. Sivakumar — Kokuvil
V. Vignamoorthy — Kokuvil
K. Sukumar — Kokuvil
S. Sivarajah — Anaikottai
S. Rajkumar — Anaikottai
R. Shanmugalingam — Kokuvil
S. Sundarabbas — Mankulam
S. Sudarsa — Vasavilan
V. Balendrarajah — Thondaimannai
D. Sundararajah — Thondaimannar
K. Parameswaran — Thondaimannar
T. Kumaradas — Thondaimannar

FROM PAGE 4

troops were courteous whenever they stopped me. But to a Tamil acquaintance with me they were hostile, often thrusting their rifles into his stomach.

There are no tears for soldiers and police killed by the rebels and the Government says the separatists terrorise the population into supporting them.

Of the scores of people to whom I spoke, not one gave anything but tacit, if not active, support to the rebels, despite recent murders of informers and Sinhalese citizens.

The 'terrorists' are simply people's sons, brothers and husbands — fighting, in the eyes of the Jaffna Tamils, to protect and liberate the community.

HOLLAND DEPORTS 45 TAMILS

The Dutch government has secretly deported 45 young Tamils to Sri Lanka, in violation of the understanding with the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). This action is the first of its kind taken by a Western government since the arrival in Western Europe of a large number of Tamils after the violence against them in July 1983.

The 45 Tamils arrived at Amsterdam Schipol Airport on January 11 with one-way tickets for East Berlin. They were arrested in the transit lounge just before they boarded a flight for Berlin and put on the Air Lanka flight back to Colombo.

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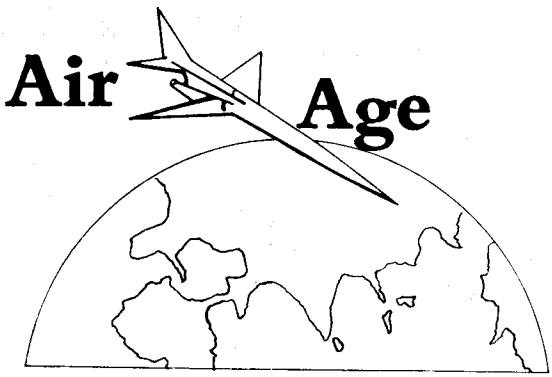

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MATRIMONIAL:
Mother seeks Jaffna Hindu groom above 36, for charming Singaporean teacher daughter. Details: Toa Payoh North, P.O. Box 708, Singapore 9131.

MATRIMONIAL:
Parents seek professionally qualified groom for Jaffna, Hindu AL qualified girl, age 27, with Mars affected horoscope (not resident in UK). New house in Jaffna, substantial cash dowry. Write to Box M14, c/o Tamil Times.

MATRIMONIAL:
Electrical engineer brother, UK citizen, seeks Jaffna Hindu groom for 31-year-old, tall, very fair, pretty sister. Reasonable dowry, including attractive house in Jaffna. Write to Box M15, c/o Tamil Times.

Dr T. Nallainathan

The death occurred on 9 December 1984 of Dr T. Nallainathan, well-known medical practitioner in Colombo. He had his early education at Jaffna Hindu College and Royal College before passing out as a doctor from University College, London. During his days in London he was associated with Krishna Menon and the India League and was President of the Association of Ceylon Students in 1926.

He is survived by his children Mrs Rudrani Balakrishnan, Mrs Sivanandini Duraisamy, Dr Sanath Kumar Nallainathan and Mrs Sivarangani Chandra Raj.

Britannia Hindu (Shiva) Temple Trust — Highgate Murugan Temple, 200A Archway Road, London N6

The Temple construction work, which includes heating, plumbing and lighting is progressing at a satisfactory pace and is expected to be completed by the end of January 1985, when qualified Stapathies from Tami Nadu are expected to arrive. These temple architects will be responsible for the architectural and sculptural work according to Hindu Agama Sastras and are expected to complete their work by June 1985, in time for the Mahakumbabishekam. Funds collected up to now have been usefully spent on the various projects to bring the temple to its present state. The estimated cost to complete the remaining work is £42,000. The trust appeals to all devotees and well-wishers to make generous contributions towards this project; cheques to be drawn in favour of the Britannia Hindu Temple Trust (BHTT) and forwarded to the Secretary of the Trust, Mr N. Vamadevan, 1 Sterry Drive, Thames Ditton, SURREY KT7 0YN.

APPEAL FROM P7

lances have no fuel. In addition, the government has withheld basic medical supplies including oxygen, insulin, etc., since July 1984. We appeal for urgent action to save lives in these areas. We plead for neutral observers to be sent there immediately."

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OBITUARY

Dr Thamotharampillai Thambyahpillai

Dr Thambyahpillai, who passed away in London on 4.12.84, was an astro-physicist of international repute. He was attached to the Imperial College of Science and Technology in London as a Research Fellow.

Born at Vannarpannai, Jaffna, on 21.9.25, he had his early education at St Patrick's College, Jaffna, and later at the University of Ceylon where he was awarded a scholarship to pursue post-graduate studies in the UK. He received his PhD from the University of Manchester in 1953, and returned to Ceylon as Lecturer in Physics.

But Ceylon could not benefit from the genius of Thamby (as he was popularly known) for more than six years, for soon after the second anti-Tamil pogrom of 1958, he saw the writing on the wall very clearly, something which only intellectuals of the calibre of Professor C. Suntharalingam could foresee at that early stage. The parting of the ways had come.

Thamby's departure from Ceylon and achievements thereafter are best recounted in the words of Professor Emeritus of Physics, H. Elliott, CBE, FRS, of the Imperial College of Science and Technology, Londo

'. . . In June of 1958 he wrote to ask whether it would be possible to come to work in London as he felt that the political situation in Ceylon was such that he could not continue at the University. Fortunately an appointment as a Research Assistant was available at Imperial College and in 1959 he moved to this country.

Resumed research

'In Manchester for his PhD thesis he had worked on the subject of cosmic ray intensity variations and he therefore resumed his researches in this area of physics at Imperial College. In course of the subsequent twenty-five years he acquired a world-wide reputation for his work in the relationship between cosmic rays and solar and geomagnetic activity and for his elucidation of the difficult problem of the sidereal variation of cosmic rays. The results of this work are described in some thirty published papers which remain as a scientific memorial and record of his important contribution to this branch of science.

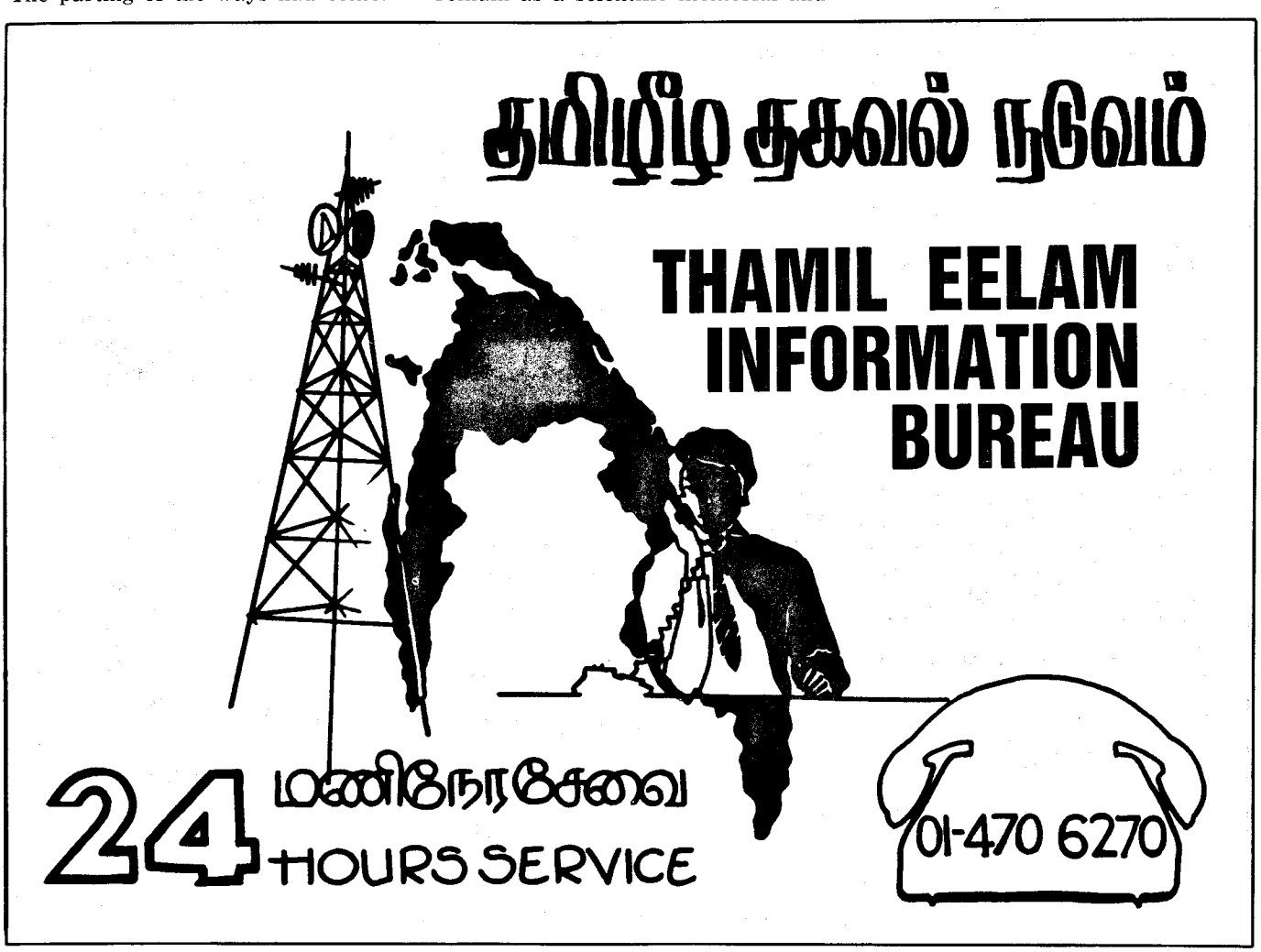
'Thamby was a familiar figure at International Conferences throughout the world and as an established authority was often called upon to review the state of progress in research in his area on those occasions. He will be sadly missed not only at Imperial College but in Laboratories and Institutions in many other lands.'

Thamby was a classic example of a generation of Tamil intellectuals who had become distinguished academicians all over the world and whose services were lost to Sri Lanka as a result of being treated as second class citizens in the land of their birth.

Thamby was an ardent lover of Tamil language and culture. He was a connoisseur of Tamil art forms, in particular, classical music and dance. A founder-member of the London Tamil Sangam, he functioned actively on its Executive for several years — as a member, as a Vice-President, and later in 1977–78 as the President, during which period he had the distinction of welcoming M.G. Ramachandran, the Chief Minister of the Tamil Nadu state, to London.

He is survived by his wife, Meenalosani, and daughters Sivakamasundari and Shyamalanayagi.

—ARAVIND



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